



TO
His honored Friend,
MR. CORNELIUS HOLLAND,
These.

Honored Sir,



Without preamble, give me leave to visit you with a few lines; and in the first place really to acquaint you with the true cause of my present writing, which is as followeth: I am in Prison, I know not wherefore, and I am confident those that sent me do not, for if they had, they would since the 28. day of March last (being the first day of my Imprisonment) have laid some crime unto my charge (which yet to this day they have not) or if they had been able to do it, they would let me have seen, either my Prosecutor or my Accuser, or at least my Accusation; none of all which to this present day I ever saw, but was condemned by Vote in the nature of a Traytor, uncharged, and unheard, which if I may believe the ancient Declarations of the Army, made upon the like
A
dealing

dealing as I have lately found, is very hard and unjust measure, as they punctually declare in their Book of Declarations, P. 10. 17. 33. 34. 35. 60. 61. 62. 63. and all this at most but for the suspicion of my being active in, or necessary to an intended address to your House, which act is justifiable in a superlative manner, by the very words of your own primitive Declarations, as abundantly appears in your first part Book of Declarations, p. 123. 201. 202. 548. but especially page 720. and which was not yet never repealed by subsequent Declarations: And for hindring and obstructing publique Petitions; it is not long since the Army, or the leaders thereof charged divers of your principal members as traitors therefore, as appears in their Book of Declarations, page 83. 85. the liberty of which they reckon amongst the prime Liberties of this Nation, (for the pretended preservation, of which there hath been almost eight years bloody wars) as appears largely in their forementioned pages, but especially page 44. 118. yea, and waged war with the Parliament, their Lords, Masters, and Impowers for abridging them thereof, as clearly appears in their own Declarations, which makes it plain and evident, that such a Declaration made by the House of Commons against their Petition, as the House made, 27. March last, against one they supposed me to have a hand in, was the original and first declared cause of all the Armies contest with, and rebellion against the Parliament. But that I should not only be imprisoned for nothing, but close imprisoned, sometimes from the very society of my wife and children, and ever since the ninth of May, 1649. to be debarred the society and visits of my friends and acquaintance, which the very Pagan Romans would not do to Paul, that pestilent fellow, and a turner of the world upside down, as Tertullus accused him to be; yea, to be mewed up close in my lodging with a Padlock upon my door, and Sentinels set thereat night and day, that I shall not so much as speak at a distance with any of my fellow prisoners, and worse dealt with besides, then the Cannibals do with their poor imprisoned Captives, who feed them sat with good cheer against the day of slaughter; or then the States of Holland do their intended to be executed thieves, traitors, or murderers, whom they largely and plentifully provide for in their imprisonment; yea, or worse then King Charles (whom you have beheaded for a Tyrant) did by his prisoners in this very place, unto the meanest of whom, out of the Exchequer he allowed thre pound a week for their maintenance during their imprisonment in this place, yea, and to divers of your very members that were men of great estates, and possessed them peaceably in the third, four, fifth, &c. years of his reign, he allowed them four pound and more at week apeece for their diet, when things were cheap to what they are now; and ye for much of my time you preferred me never a peny, and when you do, you do in a mock and scorn proffer me at most but twenty shillings a week, which will do little more then pay for the necessary attendance in the close and extraordinary condition you have put me in, which I confess I refused with as much scorn as it was sent me; which close and extraordinary tormenting condition in the heat of Summer, without permitting me to step out of my lodging to take a little Air; admit you were as unquestionable a power as ever was in England, and that I had really committed treason, cannot in the least by the Law of England be justifiable; the equity and justice of which Law abhors any torture or torment whatsoever to any prisoners, though never so criminous, least that his pain,

or torture, or torment should take away his reason, and constrain him to answer otherwise then of his free will, torture forcing many times the innocent person to tell lies, which Law and Justice otherwise abhor; and therefore that never enough to be magnified Lawyer, Sir Edward Cook, saith, That there is no one opinion in all our Law Books, or Judiciaall Records (that he hath seen and remembers) for the maintenance of torture or torments, &c. persons being merely instituted by Law for safe keeping, in order to a speedy triall, but not in the least for punishment or torment, as is most excellently declared by him, in the 1. Part Instit. fol. 60. a. and 2. Part, fol. 42. 43. 186. 315. 316. 389. and 3. Part, fol. 343, and 4. Part, fol. 168.

And all this present unjust usage of me, to come not onely from the hands of my large pretended friends, whose just interest, according to their own published Declarations, I have with all faithfulness, in the midst of many deaths, for many yeers together faithfully served, and advanced with all my might: But also of those, that would seem to abhor and abominate, the Ruling and Governing by will, and Arbitrary power, as the wickedest and detestablest thing in the world, and so declare it to be, 1. Part. Book Declarations, pag. 172. 195. 214. 264. 281. 342. 464. 492. 494. 496. 498. 663. 666. 690. 699. 728. 750. And that have raised and maintained a bloody war, for seven yeers together, principally for the pretended preservation of the Laws and Liberties of England; that have pulled down the Star Chamber, High Commission, Council Table, and House of Peers, for oppression, and arbitrary injustice; nay, and beheaded the King (the quondam glory of some of your great ones eyes,

* as clearly appears by Putney projects, Mr. John Wildemans, Truths Triumph, pag. 7. 8 and Major Huntingtons charge, delivered to the Parliament, August 2. 1648. against Lieutenant General Cromwel, &c.) pretendedly for Tyranny, and Oppression, as your selves state his Case in your notable Declaration, about Non-Addressees, dated the 11. of Febr. 1647. and your remarkable Declaration of the 17. of March 1648. Yea, and have suffered your Solicitor General Mr. John Cook, notably in Print to state his Oppressions; yea, and to draw most notable pregnant, and cutting inferences from them, as he doth in the 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 11. 14.

15. 17. 20. 22. 26. 31. 36. 39. = 2. pages thereof; two of which onely I shall now make use of: The first is in pag. 22. where he arguing of the right execution of Trusts, saith, That when any is intrusted with the sword for the protection, and preservation of the people; if this man shall employ it to their destruction, which was put into his hands for their safety, by the Law of that Land, he becomes an enemy to that people, and deserves the most exemplary and severe punishment that can be invented; and this is the first necessary and fundamental Law of every Kingdom: Which if it be true, as you cannot contradict it, it being your own doctrine, then it is easie to make Application, *am jore, ad minus*. The second is in pag. 42. where he declares, That in pronouncing Sentence against the King and executing Justice upon him. you have not onely pronounced Sentence against one Tyrant alone, but against Tyranny it self; therefore (saith he there) if any of them (meaning the High Court of Justice, and the Parliament) shall

* As is undeniably demonstrated in my following impeachment of Lieutenant General Cromwel, and his son Ireton, at the Bar of the House of Commons, the 19. Janu. 1647. And offered again and again there, upon my life, to make it good.

turn Tyrants, or consent to set up any kinde of Tyranny by a Law, or suffer any unmerciful domineering over the Consciences, Persons, and Estates of the Free people of this Land; they have pronounced Sentence against themselves. But good Trees (saith he) cannot bring forth bad fruits. But say I, bad fruits, and bad actions, are evident and undeniable demonstrations, That the Trees or Actors of them, are bad and wicked.

• Which I am sure they deserve, onely I wish, they may not fail of the same punishment; and that Master Cook would be as zealous in endeavoring it, as he was in endeavoring the Kings; for Justice ought to be impartial, and no great places ought to stop the mouths of those that are truly prosecutors of it: And let Master John Cook take heed that the Fat Mastership of St. Crosses Hospital, lately conferred upon him, do not stop his.

Yea, and from those that have declared, All their power and authority, is but a be-trusted power, which they ought, and are bound in duty, to exercise and manage, onely for the ends, and uses they are be-trusted for, and cannot justly imploy it for their own, or any other use, then that, for which they are intrusted, (and which is to be discharged, according to the condition, and true intent thereof) which they acknowledge to be onely for the peoples good, safety, and better being; and not in the least, for their hurt, or mischief. 1. Part Book, D:clay. pag 150. 266. 382. 790. 750. Imprecating wrath, Vengeance, woes, and Miseries to fall upon them, when they do not faithfully discharge their trust, according to the true intent and meaning of it; and who think nothing worth enjoyment in this world, without the Liberty, Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom, and nothing too good to be hazzarded therefore, Pag. 214. An Arbitrary, Tyrannical Government, being that which they say, Every honest Moral man abhors, especially the wisdom, Justice, and Piety of the Parliament, Pag. 49: And which every honest man ought (say they) to oppose, with the hazzard of all they have; and are; accounting those men most abominably prophane; who to satiate the Lufts of their own Ambition, are content like Esau, to sell their birth right, and render themselves, and their posterity, to perpetual slavery, and care not to submit themselves to any Arbitrary and unlimited Government; so they may for their own time, partake of that power, to trample and insult over others, contrary to the Laws and Liberties of England, The Standards for which, with the utmost hazzards of their lives, and fortunes, are those they will joyn to, live and die with, Pag. 660, &c.

Yea, and the same Note do the Ruling men of the Army (in the day of their distress and calamity) sing, in their Declarations; whose words are so glorious, transcendent, and self-denying, that they are enough to ravish the heart of an ingenuous, single hearted man, and to make an honest soul to hazzard all he hath in this world to stand by such men, as believing it to be impossible for the hearts of any men to be so wicked, and vile, as ever to go about to think of setting up Tyranny, Oppression, and a meer self-interest, after such expressions; and to make use of all these expressions, for no other end, but the more easily to deceive, and grow strong, to subdue all those that stand in their secret ambitious ways: And that the Armies Expressions in the day of their straits, were most glorious, and ravishing, plentifully appears in their Book of Declarations, Pages

37. 39. 40. 41. 45. 46. 52. 58. 61. 62. 76. 101. 105. 110. 112. 119. 126. 138.
132. 137. 142. 144. 150. See also the Officers large Remonstrance against the
late King, dated at Saint Alkans, November 26. 1648. Pages 8. 9. 12. 14. 15.
21. 23. 29. 43. 45. 47. 48. 57. 62. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69.

I say, Sir considering all the forementioned things, in abhorrency, and de-
gradation of that faithless and tyrannical dealing with me, I was resolved, though
it had been possible for you and me to live Methusalems days, never to make
any more addressees to you; nor suffer my wife, so far as in me lay, to do it in
my behalf, or so much as to come at your door, to speak to any Member of
your House, for the least mitigation of your indignation against me. Yet see-
ing contrary to my many earnest desires, and without my privity, she hath lately
been with your self at the House door, about my liberty, who as she relates
unto me, was very high with her; as though I had committed against you,
little less then the sin against the Holy Ghost, that can never be pardoned; there-
fore in vindication of my own innocency, and integrity, I cannot chuse, but
take this opportunity, to make a fair and ingenuous proposition unto you, that
you cannot refuse, if you have but a grain of Ingenuity left in you, which is
this.

That if your House please to chuse two men, I will chuse two more, and they
shall have power by majority of voices, in case they cannot agree to chuse an um-
pire, finally to decide the business betwixt us; and I will be content they shall ap-
point Cromwel, Ireton, Bradshaw and all the Orators, or Pleaders, they had
against the King, and the beheaded Lords, or as many of them as they please,
to plead against me; and I will have none but my self singly, to plead my own cause
against them all; and I will venture so far as my 24 or 25 hundred pounds, yet in
your hands, will amount unto, five hundred pounds to one hundred, yea, and my
head, to the head of him, that in your House principally caused my imprisonment,
or any reasonable considerable balance; Provided, the debate may be publick, and
that I may have free liberty to speak for my self; and provided, the Scripture, the
Book of Statutes, Cooks Institutes, (published by your selves for good Law)
the Parliaments and Armies, Primitive, Printed Declarations, may be the Witnesses
and Jury men on both sides; for the aforesaid Arbitrators, or Umpire, to guide their
Judgments by. And if I cannot maintain mine own Innocency, and Integrity, against
all that can, upon the Rules aforesaid, be said against me, and it be not so determi-
nated, and judged by the major part of the Arbitrators, or Umpire chosen as before
is express'd. I will lose and forfit all I have, yea, and my life to boot: And I
think this is so fair, That no rational man under Heaven, can condemn it, or
me, if it be refused. But yet to make it more fair, I will give you the advant-
age of all you can pick out of the first and second part of Englands new Chains
discovered; which I will own (although the last be Voted and declared Treas-
onable) my second Edition of my Picture of the Council of State; my second
Edition of my Printed Discourse with Master Peters, dated 25. of May, 1649.
And my late Book of the eight of this present June, intituled, The Legal Libor-
ties of the people of England, revived, asserted, and vindicated; on anything
asked, said, or done, by me, in the managing of them, or any of them.

Sir,

Sir, I shall give you time seriously to consider of what I have here writ, and to return me your answer to it, by the first of *July* next; in which time, if you return me not an effectual answer, to my present Proposition, or procure my present Liberty, and my full enjoyment of my long expected, and dear pur-

chased *Star-Chamber* Reparations, from bloody old
 * Sir Henry Vane, &c. I hereby leave you, before God, and all the world, without excuse; and am absolutely set at liberty, from all ties of former friendship, to do the best I can, by any ways or means, that to me shall appear just, for my own preservation, by Anatomizing, &c. what I know, either privately, or publickly of you, or the rest of your associates; that for nothing, but because I will not be your slave, would take away my life from me, and thereby destroy my Wife, and young helpless Babes.

* who although he be the man that was one of the principal Judges in the *Star-Chamber*, that past the bloody Sentence against me, by vertue of which, I received five hundred stripes, with knotted Cords, &c. And although he ought to pay me Reparations therefore; and although he by his power in the House, kept me above eight yeers together, that I could not get six pence Reparations; yet when something is allotted me, he by his will seisseth upon about fifteen hundred pounds of it, and none of my just Complaints can be heard against him: And Sir Arthur Haggis, since my close imprisonment, hath by his will and power, seisseth upon well-nigh one thousand pounds more. Against both whom in due time, I may live to raise such an hue and cry all over England, for robbing of me, that it may be may cost the stoutest of them a knocking on the head. See the third Part in Folio 56. 221. For although I be in prison, I have no crime laid to my charge, the which if I had, yet upon their own principle (having not been in Arms against them) I cannot forfeit any part of my estate, before a Legal Conviction, according to the Form of the Law in Being, as expressly appears by the Statute of 1 Rich. 3. cap. 3. which is yet in force, and by 2. Part. Cooks Institutes, fol. 48 and 3. Part. fol. 228, 229. Nay, nor my Goods so much as inventoried, although I had really committed Felony or Treason: And therefore, their seising upon my estate as they have done, I can judge in Law, to be no better then Robbery and Felony; and seeing they are by force and power protected from the lash of the Law, if there were any Legal Judges to execute it, I have in reason no other remedy left me, but to do the best I can to raise the *Posse Comitatus* of England upon them, by way of Replevy, to seise upon their estates for my satisfaction, whereever I finde it; which in due time, I may endue from the force of the Statutes of 52. H. 3. cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 15, 21 See Cooks Commentary thereupon, in second Part Instit. fol. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 131. 139. 240. & 3. Edw. 1 cap. 9. 17. See the Comentary upon them in 2. Part. Instit. fol. 172. 173. 193. 194 195. & 28. Edw. 3. cap. 11. & 27. Eliz. cap. 13. & 39. Eliz. cap. 25.

Sir, I almost know how your affairs stand beyond Seas, and also in Scotland, Ireland, and this Nation, as well as your self, though you be one of the Council of State, and I a close prisoner; and I know, that you your self know of it. You stand (for all your present greatness) upon very slippery places (and I cannot but minde you, that at the beginning of your contest with the King, I am confident, he was in number five hundred for your one; but he is laid low, and that by his oppressions.) Yet I must tell you I am now as much an English man, as ever I was in my life, and love the true Liberties of my Native Countrey,

Countrey, as well as ever I did in my days ; and you your self very well know, last year I hazarded something for them, and was not revengeful ; though you may remember, what clear grounds were laid down to you, and several other Parliament men, at a private Table, at the *George in Channel Row*, by Master *John Wildeman*, and Master *Edward Saxby*, that I had little reason to trust any more. I have sent a true friend, with my wife, on purpose to deliver this unto, and to wait upon you for your answer, let it be what it will ; and shall take leave to subscribe my self,

Sir,

*From my close, Illegal, and causeless
Captivity in the Tower of London,
this 26. day of June. 1649.*

A true and real-hearted
Englishman,
as long as I am

John Lilburn.

HAVING the same day this Letter was dated, ordered my wife, with another Friend, to carry it to Master *Holland*, and deliver it to his own hands ; at her coming home at night she tells me, That Master *Hunt* (one that is very great with *Cromwel* and Master *Holland*, and one that formerly I have been very great and familiar with) had been to seek her at *Winchester House*, the day before ; and meeting with her at *Westminster*, the 26 day of *June*, he told her, as she told me, to this effect, That he had been to seek her, to know how much money of my three thousand pounds was remaining ; that so he might speedily certifie some Parliament men, who were resolved to help me speedily to all my money down, and my liberty also ; which did so rejoyce her, and overcome her facile credulity, That she judged it not convenient to deliver my Letter, according to my earnest desire to her, lest it might provoke, and came in all haste home to me for my Ordinance and Accounts ; which to please her, accordingly I sent, with a Letter to Master *Hunt*, and a Printed sheet of Paper, which lively states my *Star-Chamber* sufferings ; some hundreds of which, I delivered to the Members at their door, the fourth of *September*, 1648. In which Letter I acquaint Master *Hunt*, with my Diffidence, in any of their promises, which I have most constantly found meer delusions ; and therefore inclosed my Letter to Master *Holland* in his, and intreated him to deliver it to him, which I understand from himself, he did, and read it to him : But yet for all my wives extraordinary conceits of her speedy enjoyment of good, and honest things from them, in reference to my self. I writ Master *Hunt* another Letter, (having fresh in my memory, what I said to Master *Peters*, in my late Discourse with him, upon the 25 day of *May*, 1649. which you may read in the second and seventh pages of the second Edition thereof) which I beleve did neither please him, nor his great Friends ; the true Copy, of which, thus followeth.

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Sir, I shall give you time seriously to consider of what I have here writ, and to return me your answer to it, by the first of *July* next; in which time, if you return me not an effectual answer, to my present Proposition, or produce

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Master

Master Hunt, having of late, for many months together, been as full of unbelief in great mens promises as Thomas Didimus, (John 20. 24, 25, 26, 27) was of Christs Resurrection, I cannot chuse but acquaint you, for all the fair dealing

* which Thomas Verney, is son to Sir Edward Verney, the Kings Standard Bearer, who was slain at Edg-Hill; which Verney, though he was Traveller, yet is lately become an Agent of the Derby house Committee, and Council of State, who (as I am from very good hands informed) they employed to the Hague, to lay a design to put the Prince on

Ship-board, and so send him for England, to lose his head, as his Father hath done; but Verney being a little discover'd, comes lately over into England, and amongst some pretends to be an Agent from the Prince; and upon that score, the Council of State, employes him to write Letters of Friendship to me; and to enter into treaty with me, to betray Oxford, &c. to whom I will appoint; that so if I had treated with him, by his testimony, they might have taken away my life for a Traytor, in holding correspondency with the Prince by his Agents; For the refusing to swear I so did, honest young Master Blank, (being thereunto much perswaded, and promised large bribes, by Sir Arthur Haslerig, but especially upon the 23 of April last, as that alone, for which they would take away my life) was forced by Sir Arthur Haslerig (the covetous and blood-thirsty Governor of Newcastle) Ireton, Pride, &c. to run the Gantlop at Saint James, whom they whipped most barbarously and inhumanely therefore, as by his Printed Testimony under his hand, dated the 20 of April, 1649. now in Print (in Mercurius Militaris, Number 3) he declares: But knowing Verney before I saw him, I was so hard for the Knave, and have his Letters by me; which I have severall times told the Lieutenant of the Tower of.

In the third place, I am newly told it is intended, that I and my three Comrades, shall have our Liberties by an Act of Grace: I confest if upon the day time, any shall come up to my Chamber, and say, All the Gates are opened on purpose, for me to go out, I will take my liberty, and go to my own house, &c. let the Gates be opened by whom they will; but yet an Act of Grace is so ugly a thing, in reference to my own innocency, that I loath the thoughts of it in that fence: For if I had been a condemned Felon, I should have expected at the end of a Session of Parliament, my portion in an Act of Grace; and though I shall not be so much a fool, but to take my liberty by it, yet though I perish for it, I must declare publicly abroad, my Reasons to the Nation, That those that sent us hither, more stand in need of an Act of Grace from us, then we from them.

Sir, I love to be plain with any man I deal with, as abhorring to accomplish my ends upon any man by deceit; and therefore intreat you, to desire Master Holland, to think seriously upon my late Letter to him, That I may have some kinde of answer

answer from him, by the day prefixt, and send me my Ordinance, and the Printed Sheet of Paper I sent you with it: So with my love remembred to you, I rest

Tower, the 29. of June.
1649.

As much an Englishman,
as ever,

John Lilburn.

And accordingly Master Holland sent me a large Letter, dated from Somerset House, the 2. of July, 1649. But although it takes notice of my foregoing Letter to him of the 26 of June, 1649. yet it hath not one word of a direct answer to the three main things I therein desire of him, that I can read in all his, being meerly a Discourse built upon mistakes; for I must here in a fair way tell him, I have not in the least changed my principles, but he his; as I will upon the hazard of the greatest disgrace in the world, make evidently appear to his face, before any rational men in England, whensoever he please: Therefore I say, I am no way, by my foresaid Letter, engaged to silence, but am free at Liberty, to prosecute my fixed intentions before the writing thereof; which was to lay a firm foundation for my late promised Second part of the Legal, Fundamental Liberties of the people of England revived, asserted, and maintained; and fully to treat upon all those Heads, mentioned in the last page of it, being 9.

And because I intend, and hope I have matter enough already to make it the master-piece of all that ever I have writ: And because unavoidably, it must have a dependency on what here follows, which would make it too large to be therein Printed; therefore I must go on with my former intended thoughts, to publish in Print my impeachment of High Treason, (yet never extant to publique view) against Lieutenant General Oliver Cromwel, and his son in law, Commissary General Henry Ireton, as I formerly delivered it openly at the Bar of the House of Commons, the nineteenth of January, 1647. Which with the Preamble, or Introduction thereunto belonging, thus followeth.

B

Upon



Upon Munday the 17. Jan. 1647. I was at the house of one Mr. Williams a Gardiner in Ratcliff-high-way near East Smithfield, where I met with divers honest men, Inhabitants thereabouts, about a Petition now on foot; amonst whom was one Mr. Masterfon, the Parson or Priest of Shoreditch near London, who (as since I am told) came pretendedly as a Scrupler, but said never a word there as I heard, coming resolutely to catch and intrap, as by the sequel of his carriages appears.

For the next day being Tuesday, up he comes with a full careere to the House of Lords, as if he had been running for a fat Benefice (as I was informed) makes a most desperate complaint against Mr. John Wildman and my self, as though under the pretence of managing a Petition, we carried on a desperate design to destroy, or cut the throats of, the Parliament men, and the execution of our desperate designs could not be far off: for that I had (as he said) appointed blew Ribbons to be the sign to be worn in our hats to know one another by upon that day.

And after he had given in some such information as this, with much more of the like nature at the Lords Bar, where without doubt it was hugg'd to the purpose, and rejoyced in, as the issue of a design of their own brain, to blast (without all peradventure as they thought) the reputation of the original and chief promoters of that transcendent, gallant, and large Petition that so much touches their Copy hold; that so if it might be possible the Petition it self might be crusht in the birth, before it had brought forth strength sufficient to pull up their rotten tyrannicall Interest by the rootes.

And after he had done with th Relation at their Bar, having giving the Lords, as it seemes, a flagon of sack and sugar, they were in pains (as it appears) till they had communicated some deep draughts of it to their friends of the House of Commons, divers of whose rotten Interests were concerned in it, as the Lords sons and servants, the Patentee, Monopolisers, the Merchant Adventurers, the Lords would be (which are principally the chief of Cromwells Faction, who having now the power of the Kingdom in their own hands, and therefore in their own imaginations can not miss of being (within a little time) made Barons, if not Earls) but especeally (that grand enslaving Interest) the rotten Lawyers of the House, divers of whom, if the Petition took effect (in disabling all Members of that House that are Lawyers to plead at any Bar of Justice) would deprive some of them of two or three thousand pound per annum, which now they get by their Pleadings, by vertue of their being Parliament men; for if a mans Cause be never so unjust, if by large Fees he can get two or three Parliament men to plead it for him, he is sure to carry it, for the Judges dare as well eat their nalles as displease them for fear of being turned out of their places by them, which they more regard then their Oathes, which tie them to do impartial Justice; I say, after he had done his Relation at the Lords Bar, a Conference was betwixt both Houses, where he again betcht out his most abominable malicious and false lies; and one being present that heard it, came immediatly to me in London, and

and told me of it, of which I no sooner heard, but immediately by water, of my own accord, I posted by boat to Westminster, and coming up to the House of Commons door about three or four a clock, I found the House to be risen, and meeting with some of my friends and acquaintance at the door, I told them there, I understood the House of Commons had again dealt worse with me then the Heathen and Pagan Romans dealt with Paul, who when his adversaries desired Judgment against him, they told them, that it was not the manner of the Romans to judge or condemn any man before he which is accused have his accuser face to face, and have liberty to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him, Acts 25. and yet upon a bare accusation of a single Priest (as I was informed) they had again committed me to the Tower before they heard me speak one word for myself, in which (I told my friends freely and openly they had outstript the Heathen and Pagan Romans in Injustice, who though Paul by Tertullus the Orator, was accused for a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a Ringleader of the Sect of the Nazarens, Acts 24. yet they would not condemn him before they heard him face to face speak for himself.

And I further told them, this unjust proceeding of the House of Commons against me, was but just the same unrighteous measure that they had meted out before unto me, for about two years ago I had come Post from Sir Thomas Fairfax Army, to bring them glad tidings of his routing of General Gorings Army at Lamport in Somersetshire, and being daily waiting at the House door, I was a few dayes after, by the Speakers means (as I have been since largely told) Voted upon a bare suggestion to Prison, without the House ever so much as calling in my pretended accusers (viz. Dr. Bastwick, and Colonel Edward King, with whom divers moneths before, I had not, to the best of my remembrance, changed so much as one word) or ever so much as calling me in, though then at their door to speak one word for my self, they Voted, and Resolved upon the Question, That I should be committed to prison till they please to release me, without telling me to this hour wherefore they imprisoned me; and from their Serjeant at Arms, tossed and tumbled me to Newgate, for refusing (to make of one of their Committees, a High Commission, or Spanish Inquisition,) to answer (against all Law and Justice) to their Interrogatories: And then when they had me at Newgate, made an Order of their House, to arraign me at Newgate Sessions, for no less then my life; and Ordered the prime Lawyers about London, viz. Master Bradshaw, Master Steel, Master Walker, &c. to be my prosecutors, and by a law-quirk, if it were possible, to take away my life from me: And yet for all that, they being sufficiently baffled, by my own pen, and the pens of my Friends, they sent me One hundred pounds to Newgate (as may be supposed) to help to bear my charges,

and released me by Vote of the House, as an innocent man, after thirteen weeks imprisonment; without all that while, laying any thing to my charge, or so much as ever telling me, wherefore they

* The full story of which, you may read in my Printed Epistle of two sheets, dated

and in my large Book called Innocency and Truth Justified, and in Englands Birth-right, Englands misery and remedy, and Englands lamentable slavery.

* imprisoned me, or who were the prosecutors, or informers against me; and all this was done unto me by Master Speakers malice principally, who though he had not the least pretence or shadow of Crime originally against me, yet thought by provocations laid upon me, to exasperate, and chase my Spirit; and thereupon, as it were, to force me to do something that might intangle me, and be a colourable ground for him to destroy me; forgetting (although he pretend to be a great Lawyer) that maxime of the Law, made use of by Judge Hutton, in his

Argument in Master Hambdens Case, against Shipmoney, pag. 49. That that which was defective in the Original, is not good by any accident subsequent; or as that learned Lawyer, the Author of that notable Book, called Vox Plebis, pag. 20. 43. hath it, That which is not good, or just, (but illegal) in its original or beginning, by tract of time cannot be made just, or lawful. See also my Grand Plea against the House of Lords, pag. 13.

I further told my Friends then, and there. That if I might have but fair play, and free liberty to speak for my self, I doubted not, but to make it as evident as the Sun, when it shined at noon-day, That at that pretended treasonable meeting at Wapping, (whereas I understood the person accused me, for plotting the destruction of the Parliament, &c.) I did the House of Commons in its just and fundamental Interest (simply considered) a peece of the reallest, and best service, that ever with my tongue I did them in my life: And as I said, I was very sure I had done them some real and unspotted services.

For the occasion of that meeting, as I told them, was upon this ground, there being a large Petition a promoting, some Copies of them came into the hands of some cordial, honest, active men about Wapping, who though they had nothing to object against the Petition it self; yet one or more of them, did very much scruple (as I was told, not maliciously, but conscienciously) how they could lawfully act to promote any more Petitions to this House of Commons, seeing that in their Declarations, they had declared (in answer to the Kings Objections, about tumultuous meetings, about Petitions, That desired the abolition of things established by Law,) That they did conceive, that numbers do not make an assembly unlawful, but when either the end, or the manner of their carriage, shall be unlawful. Nowers just occasions (say they) might draw the Citizens to Westminster, where many publique and private Petitions, and other Causes, were depending in Parliament; and why that should be found

found more faulty in the Citizens, then the resort of great numbers every day in the Term, to the ordinary Courts of Justice, we know not *. And in the same Declaration, pag. 209. they say, That such a concourse of people (as is before mentioned) can not in the interpretation of the Law, be held tumultuary and seditious.

emies Declarations, to this purpose. Book. Declar. pag. 10. 11. 17. 23. 33. 35. 44. 60. 61. 62. 83. 85. 118. but especially read the notable Arguments in Master Nathaniel Eines his Speech in the House, the ninth of February, 1640. To justify popular Petitions, and multitudes delivering of them for the abolition of the things established by Law; which you may read in Print, in the 22. 23. 24. 25. pages, of a Printed Book, intituled, Speeches and Passages of Parliament, Printed 1641. for William Cook

* These are their own words in their Declaration of the nineteenth of May, 1642. 1. Part. Book. Declar. pag. 201, 202. See also pag. 123. 533. 548. 691. See the Ar-

And in their Declaration of the second of November, 1642. 1 Part. Book. Declar. pag. 720. They do acknowledge that they have received Petitions for the removal of things established by Law; and (say they) we must say, and all that know what belongeth to the course, and practice of Parliament, will say, That we ought so to do, and that both our Predecessors, and His Majesties Ancestors, have constantly done it; there being no other place wherein Laws, that by experience may be found grievous and burthensome, can be altered or repealed; and there being no other due and legal way, wherein they which are aggrieved by them, can seek redress.

And yet notwithstanding all this, That this very Parliament, or House of Commons, that had made these Declarations, should declare men Traytors, for endeavouring to Petition, burn their Petitions, and imprison the persons of divers honest men, ~~meeting~~ for Petitioning for those things they had made us fight for, viz. Our Liberties and Freedom *

All these things laid together, were such discouragements to the Objecter, or Objecters, That at the present (as it was said) they could not in Conscience, nor Honor, go about to Petition so unworthy Apostate House any more. Whereupon some of their Neighbors, in and about Wapping, that were zealous in promoting the Petition, appointed a meeting, to debate and satisfy these scruples, (if it were possible) that so they might go unanimously to work, to promote the Petition, which was now much retarded by the foresaid Scruples, the party or parties scrupling, being of some eminency amongst their Neighbors: Unto which meeting, by some Friends, I was earnestly desired to come, and if I could, to bring Mr. John Wildeman with me; which I did.

And the substance of that Discourse was, to convince our scrupling friends

* When formerly they received the poor mens Petitions with threatening language in it, with a great deal of thankfulness, as appears, 1. Part. Book. Declarat. pag. 289. 364. 365. 398. 533. 548. 557.

friends or friend, That the Kingdom was in exceeding great distractions, and the people under general Oppressions and Burthens, and trading generally decayed; which had occasioned mighty heart-burnings, and dividings of Spirit amongst the people; and the present House of Commons (though sufficiently corrupted) was the visibly best, and justest Authority that was extant in England; the overthrowing of which (as things stood) would bring in such a present Inundation of misery and confusion, into the whole Kingdom, that there would be nothing in the eye of Reason, but cutting of throats every where, and all return into its first Chaos, and the longest Swords to be Judges of all, and we might be as soon destroyed in such a general confusion, and hurly burly, as any others. And therefore, I and my friend pressed, That if they either wished well unto themselves, or their Native Countrey, they were tied in duty and conscience, to the uttermost of their power, to preserve the Interest and Being of the House of Commons (so long as it continued a House;) and yet in such a way, That they might not invassalize the people: Both of which, they were told was provided for in this Petition; and to do any thing that might pull down or destroy the present Power and Being of the House of Commons, in the eyes of the people, before things are in some settledness (which would sufficiently be done if they should disclaim them as unworthy to be Petitioned unto any more) were to undo and destroy ourselves, especially considering, That they had so lately engaged so high against the King, and the Scots; and therefore it behoved us not so to act, as to increase their adversaries, but rather to strengthen their hands, and the rather at this juncture of time; and yet so to do it, as that the generality of the Commons of England, might be gainers by it, in the knowledge of their particular Liberties; that so if it were possible, they might be united therein, and might thereupon, as one man in the Spirit of Englishmen, stand up, and live, and die each with other, against all Forraign Interests whatsoever.

And as I further told my said acquaintance and friends, That I was confident

confident there was never any one Discourse in England, wherein the true and just Interest of the House of Commons, was more firmly, cordially and strongly maintained, then in that : And if they should punish me for my actions or speeches at that meeting, I should be punished for doing as great (and as real) a peece of service to the Interest of the House of Commons, (and consequently to the Interest of the Kingdom) as ever was done in any meeting by any Member of the House. And this I told them, I doubted not but to make as evident as the Sun, when it shined, if the House would hear me but speak for my self. At which, my Friends were very much refreshed, considering so desperate things were charged upon me by the Priest.

So enquiring if any of them could tell me where Master Sergeant was, I was answered, *He was with the Speaker, and the Earl of Manchester, in the Queens Court ;* and going up thither to finde him, I found him ready with his Mace, to usher the Keepers of the Great Seal unto the Chancery Court. So standing in their way, as they were to come out, I had a minde to face them, to see how they would look upon me ; and after they passed by, I could see the Speaker lay his head to the Earl of Manchester. Whereupon, they both turned about, and stared wishfully upon me, and so did the three Judges that followed them, which were, if I mistake not, Judg Rowls, Judg Phesant, and Baron Atkins ; and I looked as wishfully upon them, with an undaunted countenance, thereby demonstrating that unspotted Innocency cleared my heart, and so down stairs they went, and I followed them at their heels to the Chancery, with an earnest desire, to know the matter more fully of Master Sergeant, and truly to know what their House had done upon it, who within a little while, coming out of the Court, I had my opportunity to speak with ; who looked very strangely upon me, as though I were now a destroyed man ; at which, I smiled, and told him, If ever the House of Commons in their lives, had true ground and cause to thank me for any service, that ever I had done them with my tongue, it was for that nights Discourse, and my there pleading their Cause and Interest. And much more Discourse to the same purpose (as is before mentioned) we had, but I graced very much upon Master Speakers unjust and unrighteous dealing with me. And I told him, I conceived this was one of his new plots, or the Earl of Manchester's : For guilty conscientious men, are always afraid of the shakings of an Aspine-leaf ; and would frame and contrive, one of their own brains new plots, and then themselves bring them to light, as contrived against the State and Parliament, That so they might thereby blast all sorts of men that were likely to pinch them. And truly I told him, they were to mine own knowledg, very good at these tricks, for I knew them both of old ; at which he was distasted, and told me, the House had taken off my former Order for my going abroad, and had *remanded*

remanded me to the Tower again, and had sent an Order to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to morrow morning, to bring me up to their Bar as a prisoner: I told him, it was but like all the rest of their just dealings towards me; and in this I told him, they clearly demonstrated to the whole Kingdom, That they had less Justice within their breasts, then was in the Heathen, and Pagan Roman Judges, that had nothing but the light of Nature to guide them in their judgment; and yet would not condemn Paul before they heard him, though his Adversaries laid greater things to his charge, then all the men in England are able justly to pretend against me. And as for my going again prisoner to the Tower, I told him, I would now never go upon the old score voluntary, while my eyes were open. And I further told him to this effect, That if their hearts were not totally hardened, and their souls sealed up to do wickedness for ever, they would blush for shame, so much as to talk of committing me to prison before now after above seven yeers waiting upon them, they had done me some reasonable proportion of Justice; but now again to commit me to prison, after eleven or twelve yeers (as heavy) sufferings, as ever Englishman (that I read of) endured; to the exhausting me of all that ever I have in the world, yea, and more too, by running into debt to buy me bread, and to keep almost three thousand pounds of my Corn from me by force and violence, and to commit me to prison again, without any manner of provision in the world, for me and mine to live upon (after I have made so many mournful cryes and means unto them.) What is this else, but to be more cruel then the very Cannibals themselves: who always feed fat those men that they intend to eat, and devour; and were it not more justice in them, to cause their Guard of Halberdiers, to knock my brains out, and so put a period to my days, and miseries, then again to send me prisoner to the Tower, either to be starved, or eat the stone walls (which is impossible.) For as the Spirit of God saith by Jeremy in his Lamentations, Chap. 4. 9. *Better are they that die by the sword, then they that be slain with hunger:* And he gives this Reason of it, *For the last pines away, stricken through for want of the Fruits of the Field; whereas, he that is slain quickly, endures little or no pain.* And how they can conceive in the eye of Reason, (laying all things together) how I should thus long live, and subsist without miracle, (especially, contesting with all the great corrupt Interests of England, who have scores and hundreds of mercenary, pensionary emissaries, in the City and Countrey, with their lyes and falsehoods, to rob me of my Reputation and Credit; and with their groundless reproaches, to bespatter me, and make me as black as a Chimney Sweeper, and render me as a man not fit to live in civil or moral Society) is beyond my Reason to apprehend.

My Prayer.

BUt O thou Just, Righteous, Powerful and Compassionate God; that sensibly hath been my God and guide about these wise seven years: that hast often refreshed my soul with those fat, and soul satisfi-
 fying refreshments, that hath made my heart sing and be merry, in the midst of many deaths; and which hast made me lightly esteeme the cruel malice of all my fierce, and murdering Enemies: O thou glorious God, that hath taken me by the arme when I have been ready to fall, and by whose power alone, I have been kept upright before thee, in the midst of many soul-piercing temptations; and by whose sweetnesse, discovered unto my soul, I have been drawn after thee, with ready willingnesse of spirit (though backwardnesse of flesh) to follow thee whithersoever thou goest: keep now (for the glory of thy name-sake) my heart sincere and upright before thee, that I neither flag, fall, nor start aside, like a broken bow, but may stick close unto thee, (and to that justice and purity that shines gloriously in thee) to the death.

O Thou compassionatest and sweetest God, who in all the afflictions of thy people art afflicted with them, and hast said, *thou hearest their cries, and bottlest up their tears*; O now in the greatnesse of straits, when my soul is indeavoured to be over-whelmed; hear now in heaven, the habitation of thy greatnesse, and protect and deliver me from the cruell and bloody rage, of thy once *SEEMING* servant, *CROMWELL*, who if my soul is now able to judge, is visibly become a *FALNE-STAR*, an *Apostate* from thee, an *ENEMY* to thee, and a desperate persecutor of thee, in all those where he meets with the shining splendor and the glory of thine owne bright Image of Justice holiness, purity and righteounesse; and hath done a thousand times worse thereby, then *Peter* did, who, though he forswore and denied his Master, yet he never persecuted him in his members, as he hath done, and thereby hath Crucified the Son of God *AFRESH*, and put him to an open shame: O put a hook in his nostrils, and a bit into his teeth, to curbe his furious drivings to destroy Righteousnesse, Truth, and Justice (from off the earth) the bright shinings of God amongst men; O discover him (to all those that truly know thee) and his wicked oppress-
 sing and tyrannical accomplices, to be what they are, (and have of late clearly demonstrated themselves to be, to every seeing eye) the *SONS OF SATHAN AND WICKEDNESSE, THE PERVERTERS OF TRUTH, JUSTICE, AND ALL KIND OF RIGHTEOUNESSE, THE DECEIVERS AND SEDUCERS THAT THOU HAST DECLARED SHOULD COME INTO THE WORLD IN THESE LAST DAIES, TO DECEIVE, IF IT WERE POSSIBLE, THE VERY ELECT.* O Lord, deal with him according to all his late deserts, in doubling unto him that cup of affliction and sorrow, that he hath of late meated out divers of thy
 C choice

choice and redeemed ones; O thou righteous God, who hast declared, that evil shall never depart from the house of him that requirer evil for good, let it be so unto him; who caulelly, as thou knowest, hath with all his might and power, sought the destruction and totall ruine of me thy poor servant, who in the uprightnesse of his soul, while he judged him to be thine, adventured all he had in the world for him; O dearest and truest God, seeing thou hast made the spirit of thy poor supplicant, willing from time to time to stoop unto the lowest condition in the world, (that might consist with that knowledge, duty, fealty, he owes unto thee, HIS ABSOLUTE AND UNLIMITED SOVERAIGNE, fairely to reconcile things betwixt us; but nothing wil serve his turne, but the prostrating of the honour and conscience of thy poor servant unto graven Images, and painted Idols, viz. the usurping tyrannical House of Lords: and seeing by his potency and greatnesse (by reason of that absolute commanding power, he hath over an over-awing, mercenary, Turkish Army, that now serve not to defend the liberties of their native Country, but the exorbitant tyrannical lusts of men) that thy servant can obtaine amongst men no Justice, nor right, but is hindered of all that tends thereunto, or his powerful influence; he therefore thereby appeals to the great and SOVERAIGNE CREATOR AND OVER-RULER OF ALL THE WORLD, FOR JUSTICE AND RIGHT, against this great and mighty (apostatizing) hunting Nimrod, CROMWELL, and solely at thy feet cast his contest with him, earnestly imploring for that glorious and unparallel'd riches sake that shines in Jesus Christ, & for that unspotted Justice and righteousnesse sake, that shines in thy owne selfe; to do justice with thy own Almighty, but stretched arme betwixt us; and visibly before the eyes of the present generation of men, execute impartial judgement between us, that so it may be made manifest to the sons of Men, but especially to the present living generation of thy people, who is principally in the fault, thy servant that now in the ardency of his soul speaks unto thee, or he against whom, in the anguish and bitterness of his heart and spirit, he complains of unto thee: O, as thou art a righteous God, and as truth and justice is inherent in thee, and one with thee, judge betwixt us, and visibly avenge upon the guilty one of us, and that speedily; that so if it be thy wil, those heart-burnings, and divisions of spirit may cease, that by our contest is occasioned amongst our native Church men, but especially amongst thy darlings, by reason of our contestings each with other, who both have been eminent in the eyes of many thousands of those that truly know thee: for that realt integrity to thy truth and glory, that they have judged to be in us, that so peace and quietnesse, truth and justice, thereby (if it be thy good wil and pleasure) may speedily come unto the land of our nativity; and truth, righteousness, joy, comfort, and union of hearts and spirits, may come unto the chosen ones, and glory, honour and peace unto thy great and glorious Name. Amen. Amen.

But in the conclusion of my discourse, I told Mr Sergeant, that though I would not willingly go to the Tower, yet I would promise him willingly and voluntarily of mine owne accord to come to-morrow morning, (*being Wednesday, 19th. of Jan. 1647.*) to the House of Commons, and if they would give me but fair play, and leave at their Bar freely to speake for my selfe, I doubt not but to make my base and lying accuser (for all the start he had got of me) ashamed of what he had done: so after I had a little faced the Commissioners of the Great Seal sitting in open Court, and talked a little with some Parliament-men, and given them three or four lashes, *for their ungrate, unjust, and light credulity,* away to my Lodging in London I came, and being up very betimes the next morning, to meet some understanding friends, to confer how, and after what manner the businesse by me, should be carried at the House; this man, and the other man, threw in very folliadvice, and pressed me to a careful and diligent observation, but I bid them hold their peace, and talke no more of it to me; for I neither could nor would observe their directions; for I told them to this effect, *my heart was all one fire, and my soul did thirst and long to be amongst the Parliament-men, that in the might and strength of my strong God, I might talke to them,* and I told them my old refuge in all such cases as this is, was the 10th of Matthew, and I cared for no other counsellor; neither in this case could I regard any but his, who was, and is, the author of that, who in all such cases, *had commanded me to take no thought how, or what to speake; promising that it shall be given me in that same hour, what I shall speake, for (saith he) it is not you that speake, but the spirit of your Father that speaketh in you;* unto which, an eminent man in the company replied, *he lik'd it well, but yet for all that he lov'd to use meanes;* But I told him, I lik'd that wel too, but in this case, not knowing what they wil say unto me, or lay to my charge, *all discourses to me below the tenth of Matthew was to no purpose,* and therefore I pressed againe to be gone to Westminster, for my soul longed to be amongst them, being brim-full; and ready for want of vent to overflow; desiring at present, nothing so much from God, as to order their hearts so, as to cause them to give me free leave to speake.

So preparing for the journey, I arrived with other of my friends at Westminster, and being not long at the House door, (where was many friends come downe from London and Southwark, to hear and see how things went) I addressed my self to the Sergeant of the House, to let him know I was there to tend upon the Houses pleasure; And he immediately after came out with his Mace, and CALLED FOR Mr. MASTERSON, THE JUDAS PRIEST, and my selfe; so in we went, and also the Lieutenant of the Tower as my guardian, and having given them that due respect, that I conceived is due unto their just and true authority, (though I owe little or none unto the persons that sat there, by reason of their grosse abusing and most abominable *of their righteous authority*) the thing that passed, so near as my memory to the utmost punctilio will serve me, I shal faithfully relate unto you. Upon our coming to the Bar, where both my lying accuser and my selfe stood, the Speaker stept up in his Chaire, and commanded Mr. MASTERSON, in the name of the House of Commons, to give them

Now again a narrative of what he yesterday declared to them. So he very formally began, and spoke as freely, as if he had learned his Lesson without book; and truly, I could not but stand amazed at the man's impudence, that he durst, with so much confidence, tell so many lies as he did: But giving not much regard unto his accusation, to treasure it up in my memory, being resolved before hand, to take no cognizance of his verball impeachment, which in Law was nothing, I fixed my mind very seriously upon the Lord Jehovah, my old experienced refuge, strength and support, and was a wrestling with him for the incomes of his own self, that so I might speak freely and boldly, in his might and power (if it were possible) to the amazement and terror of his enemies, amongst those that should hear me; divers of whom, I was confident, would lye in wait to catch and intrap me.

And now and then (the House (in my apprehension) being very full, I cast my eye about me to look upon the countenances of the Members, and to observe their behaviours; most commonly fixing my eye stedfastly upon the Speaker in the Chair: Who as soon as he perceived Mr *Masterson* had done, beckoned his hand unto me, as I conceived, to have me answer the Priest: but I stood still, and took no notice of his beck; at last, he wished me to say what I could answer for my self unto it: whereupon pausing a little, after a congey made unto him, I opened my mouth to this effect.

Mr Speaker, I desire, in the first place, to premise this, That I look upon, and own this honourable House, in its constitution and power, as the best, legallest, and justest interest, power and authority, that is established in this Kingdom; or that all the Commons of England wisely hath, for the preservation of their lives, liberties and estates: And I doubt not, but so to speak unto you, and so to behave my self before you, this present day, as thereby to demonstrate to you, that I am an honourer, an owner, and a prizor of this greatest English authority and interest; in which, as a free Commoner of England, I have a little share: And therefore, if this honourable House please to afford me Paul's PRIVILEGE, that he enjoyed amongst the Heathen and Pagan, Roman Governours, or Magistrates; which was, to hear him speak freely for himself, before they would condemn him: Which liberty and privilege, I freely and largely enjoyed, at the hands of the Cavalier Judges at Oxford, when I was arraigned in irons, before the Lord chief Justice *Heath*, and Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, late Recorder of London, for drawing my sword, and at your command, adventuring my life, for the great interest of the Kingdom involved, and single represented in this honourable House, in the destruction of which it perisheth; who before all the City and Country, then assembled in Guild-hall in Oxford, gave me free liberty, without the least interruption, to say what I pleased, and to plead for my life, in the best manner that all those abilities God had given

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according to the form of the Law of the Land, exprest in the 29 Chapter
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nated in the Petition of Right. Which this
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And indeed, Mr Speaker, in Law it is no
charge at all: neither in the way this Infor-
mer is in, can I well have any remedy against
him, in case he abuses me; for, as I under-
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‖ See Sir Edward Cooke
1 part Institutes, fol. 234, b;
and 3 part, chap. Conspi-
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fol. 143. & ch. Perjury, fol.
163, 164, 165, 166. and
4 part, fol. 66.

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See my Book, called, The
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41, 72, 73. and my Book,
called, The Laws Fundam^l,
pag. 13, 16.

And my second Edition of
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And now and then (the House (in my apprehension) being very full, I cast my eye about me to look upon the countenances of the Members, and to observe their behaviours; most commonly fixing my eye stedfastly upon the Speaker in the Chair: Who as soon as he perceived Mr *Masferson* had done, beckoned his hand unto me, as I conceived, to have me answer the Priest: but I stood still, and took no notice of his beck; at last, he wished me to say what I could answer for my self unto it: whereupon pausing a little, after a congey made unto him, I opened my mouth to this effect.

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to my charge; and thereby might, in their own hearts, take me, *pro confesso*, and conclude me guilty from my silence; but without a grant of free liberty from this House, to speak my mind freely, without any interruption: I shall not say one word more, but remain in perfect silence: So the Speaker commanded us to withdraw, which we did.

plea or Protestation of Lionel Hurbin, in behalf of the late four imprisoned Aldermen, pag. 10, 11, 14, 17, 18. and the Aldermens Petition of the 23 April, 1648.

And after about a quarter of an hours time, the Sergeant at Arms came, with his Mace, and ushered us in again; and having placed our selves at the Bar, Mr Speaker having a paper in his hand, looked upon it, and said to this effect, Mr *Masterfon*, the House conceives, that you have nothing new given them so full a relation of this business to day, to Mr *Lilburns* face, as you did yesterday, when you were single: therefore I am commanded to ask you what you say, to such a thing, and such a thing? and mentioned, as I remember, about some six or seven particulars: The substance of all of his accusation, so near as that little heed I gave unto it, would enable me to collect, was to this effect:

That there was a design (especially by me declared at the foresaid meeting) contrived by me, Sir, to destroy, or cut off, both Houses of Parliament; and that we could not be far from the intention of executing it, in regard I had appointed blew Ribbons to be worn in the hats of all those that should be saved alive: And that though we did now drive on a Petition to the House, yet it was no more but a cloak, or a colour to raise the people by, that so we might the more covertly make our selves strong enough to destroy them.

But after he had done, the Speaker told me, the House had given me free liberty to say what I pleased: at which I made a congey to him, and mightily raised up my heart to God, with an earnest inward cry to Heaven, now to come in, if ever; with power, strength, wisdom, resolution and utterance; and praised be his name, he heard my inward sighs and cries unto him; and put, as it were, a new heart, and burning fire, into all my veins, and raised up my spirit high, beyond its ordinary temper; and, with a little pause I begun, and said after this manner, with a soft voyce.

Mr Speaker, I take it for no small honour, to be admitted this day, to this great (though just) priviledge, to have free liberty to speak my mind freely, and boldly, without interruption; and having again premised what is before premised, and protested again what is before protested, with a loud and mighty voyce (though with an easy and sensible command over myself) I went punctually on (without the least interruption extemporary) and said,

Mr Speaker, I do here freely and voluntarily confesse it, that I had a hand, or a finger, in drawing the great Petition, with
* which at the last end large * Marginall notes fixed to it; and that
hereof, is printed at large. I also had a hand in putting it to the presse,
and paying for it: And truly, Mr Speaker,
the ground of drawing of it, in my understanding was this, we have many
year

years been fighting for our liberties and freedoms; and yet the generality of the Kingdom are as far to seek what they are, and where to find them, as ever; and the oppressions, and burthens, are very great and heavy upon the people, as by tyths, taxes, excise, and free quarter, &c. and that which is worst of all, all trading, in a manner, is dead, and all victuals grown so dear, that famine draws on apace; and this House seems (to us) to be afresh engaged, not only against the King, but also against the Scots: all which laid together, hath occasioned such heart-burnings, divisions and dissensions, in all sorts and kinds of people, saving those now in fat places and offices, that are made rich by the ruins of the Kingdom: In which regard, there was nothing more likely to arise, then a generall confusion; and the people being (as we perceived) united in nothing that concern'd their Common good, as Englishmen; might in their distractions and confusions, destroy their neighbours and friends; which might breed such feuds in City and Country, that one faction or party might be so earnest to destroy another, without hopes of any composer; till a forraign enemy seeing our divisions, distractions and hurly-burlys, came in with an inundation to make a prey of us all, and of the Land of our Nativitie: The consideration of which strook deep into my spirit, and therefore I studied how something might be done speedily to prevent it: And this Petition was brought forth as a salve to heal and cure all our sores and diseases, and to knit the hearts together of all ingenuous men, in every faction or interest, that had but the least spark of a desire to do unto their neighbours as they would be done unto: Which Law is not only the prime Law of Nature, but also the strict command both of the Law and Gospel: And truly Sir, I for my part conceived this Petition so just, necessary and righteous, that if the people closed with it, this House could never so far dishonour themselves, as in the least discountenance it: Nay Sir, I dare here at your Bar with confidence aver it, that there is never a man in England that dare or can speak against the body or scope of it, unlesse it be those that have guilty consciences within them, or those that are of, or allied unto some of those corrupt interests that are therein struck at.

And truly Mr Speaker, I my self look upon that Petition with such admiration and satisfaction of spirit, and of so transcendent concernment to all honest and just men in my native Country; that I count it one of the most glorious morall actions to promote that Petition, that ever God counted me worthy in all my life to have a finger in: And Sir, let me freely tell you: I count it my glory and honour amongst the sons of men, that I have had so great a hand in forwarding of that Petition as a had: And therefore Sir as my crown and glory I shall freely tell you, that as soon as I and some other of my true and faithfull Comrades had caused some thousands of that Petition to be printed, I did the best I could to set up constant meetings in severall places in Southwark to promote the Petition: to which meetings all scruplers and objecters against any thing contained in the Petition, might repair unto for satisfaction: and I did constantly make one at all such meetings, to improve and put forth my abilities, to open and unfold the excellency of that Petition, and to answer all objections against any particular in it: and when there was appointed Trustees in every parish (which only did consist of such as had

had been, and still were active, cordial, and untainted faithful men, to the Liberties and Freedome of their Native Country) to take the especial care to promote the Petition effectually and vigorously, in their respective Parishes; I laboured the most I could to set up the like meetings in London, and for that end, diverse cordial, honest, faithful, and *Noun substantive* English-men met openly at the W. H. A. L. E. B. O. N. E behind the Exchange, where by common consent, we chuse out a Committee, or a certaine number of faithful understanding men (but in regard I abhor to be a betrayer, or a mischievous accuser, I shal not dare without leave from themselves to name their names, but leave you to the information of my illegal and unjust accuser at the Bar, or such other, as from such as he is you can procure it) to withdraw into the next roome, to forme a method, how to promote it in every Ward in the City, and out-parishes, and also in every County in the Kingdome; and for the more vigorous carrying it one, we nominated, as he tels you, two or three treasurers, and a proportion of Collectors, to gather up our voluntary contributions, which were no greater, then some two pence per week, others 3 d. some 4 d. some 6 d. some 12 d. 18 d. 2 s. the highest was halfe a crown per weeke; and this was, and is, the voluntary act of every man in himselfe, and the end of it was to pay for Printing the Petitions, and bearing the charges of those messengers we should have occasion to send downe into the Countries to our friends there to promote the Petitions; and I doe acknowledge, I have been at diverse other meetings in London, and the out-parishes, to promote it withall the might I had: and I do further confesse, that I wrote a Letter, Intituled, *To my friends and faithfull Country men in Buckingham-shire, and Hertford shire, that ingaged for me, &c. in a Petition to this House about 13 moneths agoe*, to desire you to hear, judge, and determine according to Law and Justice, my businesse against the Lords depending in this House, either to my justification, if innocent, or condemnation, if guilty. And the Copy of the Letter I have by me, which when this House shal command me, I shal be ready and willing to produce it at this Bar, the contents of it being to presse them with all their might and interest, to promote this Petition in every parish quite through both the Counties.

I also went to *Darfort in Kent*, and there was one of those that set my hand to a Letter, subscribed to all the ——— in the County of *Kent*; and also I set my hand to a Letter to Colonel *Blunt*, the Copy of both which, at the command of this House, I shal be ready to present unto you at this Bar; and at my coming home, I set my hand to a Letter to Captaine *Boine*

in *Kent*, and did besides, the best I could to promote the foresaid Petition, not only in London, but in several other Counties besides, and hearing as before is declared in my foresaid discourse at the House of Commons door (the substance of which I againe related at their Bar) that some honest people, in or about *Wapping*, scruplled to Petition any more to the House, for the reasons before mentioned in p. 16. 17. (which I gave the House) & be-

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ing desired by some friends to come to the meeting, to help to answer their objections; I did accordingly, and being at the foresaid place, there were diverse friends met, and the discourse was begun; in which, with many arguments it was declared, that it was our duty to go on with Petitioning to this House againe, for that it was all the visible just power, that was left in the Kingdome, to preserve the peace thereof, and though all members thereof did not act as they should, yet to do any thing that should destroy the power of the whole, it would be a destruction to our selves and the Kingdome, for the people being in that *mutinous temper*, by reason of their oppressions, and burthens, there was no way to keep them in peace and quietnesse, but by a *vigorous proposing* and *prosecuting* of some universal just things to ease them, and for the future to secure them; neither was there any safe or sure way for the people to act in, to make their grievances known and probably hope for redresse, but by *Petition*, and that to the House of Commons, which was the most our owne interest of any power in England; and no man knew at this nick of time, what just and righteous things might be produced by and from the House, if they should see the people universally own, & close with so just and gallant a thing as this *Petition* is, and much more to the same purpose, which I cannot well remember: but this I am sure of, that there was not in the whole discourse, one disingaging expression to the interest of this House, but I dare with much confidence aver it, that the whole streame, scope and bent of the whole discourse, was to lift up and preserve the interest of this House, that so it might be the better inabled to do just and righteous things for the whole Kingdome, according to the end of the trust they have reposed in you; and I dare safely aver it, there was not so much as one bit of a mischievous or factious discourse at all; the whole tendency of it being to peace, Justice and Union.

And by-and-by there was an objection raised, as I remember, to this effect: *I, but if the generality of the people would joyne in the Petition, and act to save themselves, with vigour and strength, there might then be some encouragement for us once againe to joyne in acting with them, but for any thing could be perceived, the generality of the people were as willing to be slaves, as any were to have them so; and having been so often jaded, had set down with a kind of a resolution to stir no more come what would come; therefore we being but a small number to the whole, our striving in this case, was but to sow the wind.*

Unto which Mr Speaker, it was answered, much to this effect, That the great end wherefore God sent man into the world was, that he should do good in his generation, and thereby glorifie God in his generation; and it is said of Christ, that he made it his worke, to go up and down to do good unto all, that he could meet with; and therein he was declared to be like unto his Father, the immitating of which he had required of al of us, that we should do good to all men, and how did we imitate him in this; if our friends, our Country-men, our brethren, were ready to perish, and in their sottishnesse were ready

all likelihood have kindred the Wars that followed, the innocent blood shed therein, lying principally upon Cromwells score for his constant hindering the settling the liberties of the Nation, and prosecuting to death and bonds, the prosecutors thereof, which breed divisions, and they the Wars.

to be destroyed ; and God had opened our eyes to see it ; and yet we would not do the best we could to save and preserve them, though they were unwilling to save and preserve themselves.

Nay, Mr Speaker, it was there further pressed, that to sit still in such a universall perishing case as this is, was so far below a Christian, that it was beneath and below the very light of nature and selfe-preservation, that was evinced after this manner, as I am an individual, I am a part of the whole Nation, and if it perish in the eye of reason, I and mine must perish with it ; But the whole Nation is in danger of an universal destruction, by oppression, injustice, and decay of Trade, which would speedily bring famine, and that would bring all manner of confusion, by the poor peoples rising up to cut the throats of the rich-men, to get their estates and monies to buy them bread, and to preserve nature, and in this horrible confusion, we should be a prey to every farraine enemy that would first invade us ; and if such a thing should happen, we must become an *Aeldoma*, a *desolation*, a *wildernesse*, a *field of blood* : And I clearly see all this before my eyes, and yet I wil sit still and do nothing towards the publique safety (in which I am transcendently concerned and involved) because the far greater part of my neighbours sit down in silence, and are like sots resolved (or ready) to perish in their sottishnesses, and I must perish with them : *am I not guilty of mine owne ruine and destruction*, if when I see it before me, and sottishly sit downe, and use not my uttermost indeavours to preserve the whole (in the preservation of which, I am preserved) because the rest of my neighbours and friends wil not joyne with me to do it?

Nay, Mr. Speaker, it was further pressed, that in such a case as this is (*which is now the case of the Kingdome*) I am bound and tied in conscience and duty to my selfe, with vigour and strength to act, although my neighbour refuseth salvation, or preservation by me, and commands me not to save him. And it was further illustrated in this manner ; *my neighbours House is on fire, and I clearly see, if it be not quenched, mine is likely to be burned by it*, whereupon I go to my neighbour, and proffer him my helpe to quench it, and he being, it may be in a fright, a fullennesse, a sottishnesse, a mase, a distemper, or a revengefull maliciousnesse refuseth my help, yea, and commands me not to helpe him, but threatens me if I doe ; yet notwithstanding all this, I am bound in duty to selfe, and universall preservation to help to do it whether he wil or no, yea, & to pull down his house to help to quench the fire, to keep my owne and my neighbours from being burnt, whereas if none of this were, but that his house were standing, and in no such danger, for me then against his wil and mind, to set my foot over his threshold, I am a transgressor, and an incroacher upon my neighbours rights and properties. In the second place, Mr Speaker, it was answered, That in case my neighbour were a drowning of himself, and I see it, I were bound by the Law of God and Nature, whether he would or no, to save him ; nay, but much more, if in his drowning, I were likely to be drowned with him, were I bound to save him (if I can) although he laid a thousand commands upon me to the contrary.

And hereabouts, as I remember, it was further objected ; That the people

ple all over the Kingdom were generally very ignorant, and malignant, and hated the Parliament and us, whom they called Roundheads, Independents, &c. for our cordiall adhering to them, under whom they groan under greater oppressions and burthens, then before the Parliament; and for all their expences and fightings, were never a bit the freer, either at present, or in future groundd hopes; and therefore for us (that were for the foresaid reason so faithfull to the generality of the people) to act in this petition, they would but contemn it for our sakes, and be provoked to rise up against us.

Unto which, Mr Speaker, my self, &c. answered to this effect; The people are generally malignant, and more for the King then the Parliament: but what's the reason? but because their burthens are greater now then before, and are likely to continue without any redresse, or any visible, valuable consideration holden out unto them, for all the blood and treasure they had spent for their liberties and freedoms; and the reason why they were so ignorant, and did so little inquire after their liberties and freedom, was, Mr Speaker, because, that though the Parliament had declared in generall, that they engaged to fight for their liberties, yet they never particularly told them what they were, nor never distinctly held forth the glory and splendour of them, to make them in love with them, and to study how to preserve them: and for want of a clear declaring what was the particulars of the Kings Rights, and the nature of his office; and what was the Parliaments particular priviledges, power and duty to the people of the Kingdom, that chused and trusted them; and what particularly was the peoples rights and freedoms; they were hereby left in blindness and ignorance, and by reason of their oppressions, because they knew no better, doted implicitly upon the King, as the fountain of peace, justice and righteousness; without whom, nothing that was good could have a being in this Kingdom: So I told them, Mr Speaker, it was no marvail, that the poor people in this particular, were in FOGS, MISTS, WILDERNESSES AND DARKNESSE; considering, that this House, in their Declarations, had so plaid at fast and loose with them: for though, Mr Speaker, this House voted to this effect, That the King, seduced by evil counsel, had made War against the Parliament and people, and that they are traitors that assisted *him: And further declared, That he had set up his Standard against the Parliament and people, and thereby put the whole Kingdom out of his protection, contrary to the trust reposed in him, contrary to his oath, dissolving Government thereby; and that he, in his own person, marched up in the head of an Army, by force of Arms, to destroy the Parliament, and in them, the whole Kingdom, their Laws and || Liberties.

And yet, Mr Speaker, with the same breath declared, The King is the fountain of justice, and that he can do no † wrong; and forc'd the people to take Oaths and Covenants, to preserve his person: and yet, at the same time, gave the Earl of Essex, and all those under him, Commission, To fight with, kill and slay all that opposed

* 1 part, Book, Decl. pag. 259, 260, 508, 509, 576, 722, 914.

|| 1 part, Book, Decl. pag. 580, 584, 587, 617, 639, 690.

† 1 part, pag. 199, 304.

them; and declared, the King, in his own person, march'd in the head of an Army, to oppose and destroy them; and yet gave them a Commission, to fight for King and Parliament: So that, Mr Speaker, here is riddle upon riddle, and myserie upon myserie; which doth even confound and amaze the people, and put them into Woods and Wilderneses, that they could not see or know where they are, or what to think of themselves, or of the Parliament, or of the King: only this they very well know, that their burthens are greater now, then ever they were before; and that they have been made fools, in pretendingly fighting for liberty, which hath-brought them into bondage: And that though it was formerly declared, the King had no Negative-voyce, or Legislative power, but is bound

* 1 part, Book, Decl. pag.
205, 206, 208, 268, 269,
279, 705, 706, 707, 708,
710, 713, 714.

by his Oath to passe all such Laws, as the people, folk or Commons, shall * chuse: Yet now the Parliament send unto him again and again, for his concurrence to their acts; as though the giving of life, soul and power to their

actings, were indispitably and inseparably inherent in him; and as though now their consciences told them, they must crave pardon of him for all the actions they have done without him, and against him: O riddles! and unsathomable mysteries! sufficiently able to make the people desirous to be ignorant of their liberties and freedoms, and never to hear of them more; especially, considering they have paid so dear, pretendedly, for the enjoyment of them, and yet after five years fighting for them, know not where to find one of them.

But, Mr Speaker, they were told, that in this petition the people had clearly held out unto them, and that upon the undeniable principles of reason and justice, the Kings Rights, the Parliaments, and their own; and that the two former were, and of right alwties ought to be subservient to the good of the latter: and they were told, it was not so much persons, as things, that they doted upon; and therefore undoubtedly those that should really hold out justice and righteousness unto the people, was those that they would be in love with; and therefore in mercy to our selves, and in love and compassion to our native Country, it was pressed, that every man that desired to fulfill his end in coming into the World, and to be like unto his Master, in doing good, should vigorously promote and further this just and gallant Petition, as the principall means to procure safety, peace, justice and prosperity to the Land of our Nativity, and knit the hearts and spirits of our divided Country-men in love again each unto other, and in love unto us, which they could not chuse but afford, when they should visibly see, we endeavoured their good as well and as much as our own, there being all the principall foundations of freedom and justice, that our hearts could desire, or long after, in this very petition: And if our greatest end were not accomplished, in our prosecuting of this petition, viz. the Parliaments establishing the things therein desired: yet the promoting of it would beget understanding and knowledge in the people, when they should hear it, and read it, and discourse upon it; and if nothing but that were effected, our labour would not be totally lost; for nothing did more instate Tyrants in the secure promotion of
tyrannie,

tyrannie, then ignorance and blindness in the people : And therefore for the begetting of knowledge, it was requisite it should be promoted ; as also, for healing of the divisions amongst the people , and knitting them together in love , that so their minds might be diverted from studying the destruction each of other, to study the destruction of Tyrants, that would in time destroy them all.

And, Mr Speaker, there was one in the company, that made a motion, to this effect, That he did conceive it was more requisite, at present, speedily to second the Armies Declaration , with a petition to encourage this House vigorously to go on, to prosecute their late gallant Votes of Non-Addresses (for so they were called) to which was answered ,

That in this petition was contained more then was in all all their Votes , for it struck at the very root of all that Tyrannie that had enslaved, and would enslave us, viz. the Negative voyce in King and Lords, both which the Votes did not ; and it was impossible, that there could be an active Member in the House of Commons , but knew that this petition was promoting all over the Kingdom ; which did abundantly declare greater encouragement to all those Members of the House, that really intended good unto the Commonwealth, then possible could be in a single complementall petition ; signed with 4 or 5000 hands ; such a petition being rather fit to puff them up, then upon real grounds to strengthen and encourage them fully to mind the peoples good ; and there was never a Member of the House , whose design , in the largest extent , was no more then the pulling down of the King , that so he might be a King himself : but of necessity he must receive more satisfaction and encouragement from the knowledge of the promoting this gallant unparalleled petition (which is a clear demonstration to the Parliament , that those that promote it, clearly understand, that the King and the Lords Tyrannie , and their liberties , are inconsistent) then he could do from a bare complementary petition ; which would also be dangerous to ourselves , in quashing the vigorous prosecuting of this, that contained the ultimate of our desires, and the sum of all those things, that in this World we desired, to make us happy.

But, Mr Speaker, it was again objected, That seeing this petition struck so much at the House of Lords, as it did, who lately it was said , had concurred with this House in their gallant Votes against the King , it was dangerous to the Kingdoms safety , in this juncture of time to promote it , lest it might occasion a clashing betwixt the two Houses, which would now be very dangerous.

Unto which, Mr Speaker, my self, &c. answered to this effect, That if the Lords had so concurred in these Votes , that they had declared it had been their duty, without dispute, to have concurred to all such Votes as the House of Commons had passed, there had been some ground to have pleaded for a respect unto them from us : But seeing they so passed the Votes , as in the passing of them, they declare it to be their right, to give their deniall to any Votes the House of Commons shall hereafter passe, that doth not please them : we are thereby engaged the rather to go on with our petition , to pluck up this

* See 1 part Book Decl.
pag. 289, 364, 365, 398,
522, 526, 528, 548, 557.

this their destructive interest by the roots for
future, that had brought all our * miseries and
woes upon us.

For, Mr Speaker, if the Lords be considered
in their Judicative power, we shall find them
as guilty of treason, in subverting our fundamentall Laws and Liberties, as
ever the Lord of Strafford was: who in his impeachment of high Treason by
this House, was accused in the 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. articles, that he had traiterously
subverted the fundamentall Laws of England and Ireland, and introduced an
arbitrary tyrannicall Government beyond and
above Law, in that he had upon papers, † pe-
titions and verball complaints, without any
due course, proceſſe or shadow of Law (but
meerly by the law of his own will) ousted divers
of the Free-men thereof out of their liberties,
properties and free holds, to the ruina and de-
struction of many of their families.

† And if these very things
should now be judged trea-
son, as they are and were
in the Earl of Strafford, I
wonder what should becom
of all our present Junto at
Westminster, and their new
thing, called, A Councel of
State; undoubtedly the
most (if not all) of them,
must go to Tyburn, or
Tower-hill, there by an hal-
ter or axe to receive their
just deserts, Amen.

And truly Mr Speaker, I must aver it, and
do aver it before this honourable House, that
the House of Lords are as guilty of this trai-
terous subverting of our fundamentall Laws
and Liberties, and introducing and exercising
an arbitrary tyrannicall Government, above and
beyond all Law and Justice, as he was; and
by the law of their own wils, without any due

course or proceſſe of Law, have ousted divers Free-men of England out of
their liberties, properties and free-holds; they themselves being complain-
ments, prosecutors, parties, witnesses, Jury and Judges, have passed most bar-
barous and tyrannicall censures upon them, to the apparent ruin of them and
their families: Yea, and upon me have passed so barbarous and transcendent
an illegall sentence, that I am confident the like of it in all circumstances is
not to be parallel'd in all the Earl of Straffords tyrannie. And Mr Speaker,
let me freely tell you, that unlesse this House do execute upon the present
tyrannicall House of Lords, or the mischievous law and libertie-destroying
Ring-leaders amongst them, the Earl of Straffords punishment, for what they
have already done, and for future take care to prevent their or any others ex-
ercise of the like arbitrary and tyrannicall power again, I shall never justifie
you for righteous and impartiall Judges, or think that you have discharged
your duty either to God or the Commonwealth, who chose and trusted you
to preserve their liberties and freedoms, and punish those that destroy
them.

The rest of my speech against the House of Lords Legislative power, being
already at large printed in the 14, 15, 16, 17, pages, of my answer of the
27 Feb. 1647. to Mr GUALTER FROST'S malicious and false de-
claration against me, which I entituled, A WHIP FOR THE PRE-
SENT HOUSE OF LORDS, OR, THE LEVELLERS LEVELLED:
to which for brevities sake, I refer the Reader, and go on to the next thing
in order (being the main thing I intend) as I upon the foresaid 19 day
of

of January, 1647. confidently and avowedly delivered it at the Bar of the House of Commons, which is an impeachment of Treason against Cromwell &c. profering againe and againe upon my life to prove it every tittle at their Bar, which thus followeth.

And now Mr Speaker, I must acquaint you, that there was occasion administred, to talke of Lieutenant General Cromwell, and his late gross apostacy, from patronising the peoples Liberties and Freedomes, and here Sir, it was declared with admiration and astonishment, that Lieut: Gen: Cromwell, who was once the glory of Englishmen, in visibly appearing for Justice and Freedome, both against the King, the Earl of Manchester, and the whole House of Peers, &c. and who had a principall hand in so many gallant Declarations of the Army, in diverse of which freedome, righteousness, and Justice was published to the whole Kingdom most gloriously, † That this very Lieut. Gen. Cromwell (whose name for honesty once rung and echo'd throughout England) should now apostate from his former declared gallantry and honesty, and turne his back upon his owne solemne Declarations, Remonstrances, and Engagements, and persecute with bitterness (even to death and bonds) righteousness, truth and justice, in all those in the Army he met with it in (and now of late become a grand patron, protector and earnest pleader for the preservation of all the grand corrupt and enslaving interests in England) was a wonder and astonishment, that he that had the gloriest praise and opportunity put into his hands, *that ever God put into the hands of an English man*, to do good unto his native Country, and to settle the Laws, Liberties, and peace thereof, in their lustre and glory, *should be courted out of all his principles, protestations and engagements*, by a little selfish, glittering, worldly or corrupt honour, and to convert his power and interest to the quite contrary, *to make us slaves and vassals*, was the admiration and wonder, for all knowing, observing, and unbiassed English men, and the greatest mischief that ever befel the honest men of the Kingdom; having divided them amongst themselves, that formerly were one, in their pursuing the firme establishment of the Common rights and freedoms of their native Country; diverse honest men having his person in admiration, either for advantage sake, or former good services sake, would not see their owne danger and misery, nor willingly would suffer their friends and neighbours to see that fatal ruine and destruction. *that by his meanes* (and HIS ALONE) was likely speedily to come upon them, and the whole Nation; by means of which we are so divided amongst our selves, that it was impossible, for all the professed enemies we had in England, to have put such a mischievous division amongst us, the bitter fruites of which we had lamentable experience of every day, in that it deprived us of the vigorous pursuing of all effectual means to preserve and secure our selves from that eminent ruine and destruction, *that is even at our very thresholds*; And therefore it behoved us

with

My charge against Cromwell, and his Son Ireton.

† As you may clearly read in the Armies Book of Declarations, page 8. 17. 23. 25, 26. 32. 33. 35. 37. 39. 40. 41. 45. 46. 52. 58. 61. 62. 76. 97. 101. 105. 110. 112. 118. 119. 132. 137. 142. 144. 150.

with all our might to presse hard forward, according to the *marginall note of our Petition, to get our Lawes so strictly settled, as though it were impossible that ever an honest man should be borne into the world, to be an executor or administrator of them*, we having found it too true a maxime (by experience in Lieut: Gen: C R O M W E L L alone) that whosoever meanes to settle good Laws, must proceed in them with a sinister or evil opinion of all man-kind; and suppose (ESPECIALLY AFTER HIS GROSSE APOSTACY) that whosoever is not wicked, it is for want of opportunity; and that no State or People can be wisely (or securely) confident of any publick minister whatsoever continuing good, longer then the rod is over his head.

And Mr Speaker, it was further declared, that though he might now seeme to face about, and to intend just and righteous things to the Kingdome, by reason of his late forwardnesse in the late Votes against the King, for no more Addresses to Him; Yet what rational man could groundlesly judge, that he thereby intended a reall good to the Kingdome? especially considering that in the very neck of those Votes, he and his faction (*that he hath at command at the head-quarters*) published a Declaration to the whole Kingdome, to maintaine the House of Lords in all their tyrannicall usurpations; the continuance of whose Law-making interests, is perfect vassalage and bondage to the whole Nation, as I have before undeniably and fully proved; or the rather, may not any rationall knowing man conclude, that Lieut: Gen: Cromwell, and his Son Ireton's late spight against the King, did proceed only from animositie and revenge against the King, because he had forsaken them, and

* For so saith Mr John Wildman in his Truths Triumph, 7. 8. and he was conversant then at the Head-quarters, and knew almost all secrets, See also his Putney projects.

accepted of a better bargain from the * Scots, who (for their preservation it may be) were not onely willing to give Him His Negative voice, and an hereafter possession of the Militia, but a present right in it, and possession of it, the which if he enjoyed, the Army-Grantees and their accomplices, could not reigne over the people as they intended to do, for undoubtedly, if the King would have taken, and

accepted of their conditions, and stuck close to them, and embrace no other lovers, they would never have been so angry with Him, but withall their hearts have helped Him to His Crown & Throne againe, which is evident and clear, from Iretons transcendent pleading for Him (and new Addresses to Him) in this House, and the open Councils at Putney, &c. and Mr Speaker, while they accused Mr Hollis and Sir Philip Stapleton, &c. for high Treason, for under hand tamperings with the King; they themselves out-stript them at that very time, in that which they declared a crime in them, for Mr Speaker, their under hand tamperings with the King, were but petty ones to those grand ones these ajostates had; for, Mr Speaker, as I said among my friends, I do now aver at this Bar (having my relation from so knowing good hands upon the place, that I dare ingage at my utmost peril before this House, at this Bar, to prove by exceeding good testimony to this effect; That when the proposals of the Army had passd the great or Generall Councell of the Army (for so themselves called it, and therefore I wil give it the same name) Com-

missary

visary General Ireton declared to diverse of the chief Officers, he would send a copy of them to the King, which being opposed by them, he replied, that he was engaged by promise to send a copy to the King, and therefore he would send one, though the General hanged him for so doing. And Mr Speaker, he did send one to the King, and that by the

hands of Cromwells own Major, viz. † Major Huntington (who then was the bosome and indeared darling of both Ireton and his Father Cromwell, and it (viz. the Copy of the proposals) was delivered to the Kings owne hands, who read it over, and WITH HIS OWNE HANDS BLOT-TED AND RASED OUT WHAT HE MOST DIS-LIKED, and enterlined it with His own hand in some places, which very Copy thus curtail'd and guelDED, the King sent back to Ireton, and I K E T O N CAUSD THIS GUELDED COPY OF THE KINGS, TO BE PRINTED TO THE VIEW OF THE KING-DOME, AS THE AR-MIES ¶ PROPOSALS; when as indeed & in truth, Mr Speaker, they were no other, then the Proposals of the King and himself, and therefore no wonder the King to the Parliament so pressed to Treat upon these Proposals as He did; so that here was once declared affection enough to the King.

† Which Major Huntington confesseth and averreth, in the 6th and 7th pages of his printed reasons for laying downe his Commission, which by way of impeachment against Cromwell and Ireton, he delivered into both Houses of Parliament, August 2. 1648. which because of the pertinency of it, to prove the most of my charge against him, and because it comes from one that then lay at his very heart, and was his choice agent and instrument, in most of his underhand negotiations with the King, then the joy of his heart and the delight of his eyes; I shall insert it verbatim at the last end hereof, and intreat the judicious Reader to peruse it seriously, as as true a piece I believe, as ever was Printed in England, and so I often declared it to be in my thoughts, to diverse of Cromwells owne friends when it was first delivered to both Houses; though I could not joyne with Huntington at that time in the prosecution of it, for Duke Hamiltons hostile invasions sake, though I was often solicited to it by great ones, and I believe then in my lownesse might have had money enough to have done it; but I abhorred it, as Mr Cornelius Holland with other present Parliament-men, very well knowes, and also my reasons therefore.

¶ The Anatomy of which, by Mr. John Wildman, you may fully read in Putney's Pro-jects. pag.

But Mr. Speaker, I do further aver, and upon my life profer at your command to produce at this Bar, a Gentleman of good quality, and of very much integrity, and a man of much repute amongst all the honest men in the Army; who comming from London to Westminster with me not long since, voluntary and freely told me to this effect, w^h avowed confidence to justifie it; That Cromwells Son that commands the Generals Life-guard, taking notice of his averseneſſe to his fathers design, in his continuall crossing him and his

creatures,

creatures, laboured to draw him over to a compliance with his father, telling him how great a man his father was likely to be in the Kingdome, and thereby able to promote all those that would comply with him; for (saith he) I speake it with confidence, as a thing already done, that the King himself, hath wholly cast

himself upon my father and my brother Ireton, to make His tearmes for Him, and restore Him to His Throne againe: * And Mr. Speaker, I know the Gentleman that told me this, is a man of so much gallantry, and honesty, that I am confident that he will scorne for all the Cromwells in the world, to deny one fillable he told me; and therefore againe Mr. Speaker, I do offer upon my credit and life (if this House please) to produce him at this Bar, and upon his oath and life to justifie before you, the effectuall substance of what in this particular I have declared unto this Honourable House.

* Which Major Huntington in his foresaid charge, avers to be a truth, pag. 7. he himselfe being the King's messenger to Ireton with it, which he delivered to him at Colebrook, who received it with joy, and returned by him to the King this answer; that they should be the veriest knaves that ever lived, if in every thing they should not make good whatever they had promised to the King, because the King in not declaring against them, had given them great advantage against their present adversaries, which was the Parliament then sitting at Westminster.

But Mr. Speaker, whether it was the Kings forsaking of Cromwel and Ireton, and running over to the Scots, as those that had bid most for him, (it may be) being necessitated thereunto for their owne preservation, from the fear of an after ruine, from the King and Cromwell; if the King should come in by the means of Cromwell, that had a powerful Army at his command, who both of them (it may be) they thought) might be glad of a fit opportunity to chastise them, for all their iniquities committed against them, and their affronts put upon them) I say, Mr. Speaker, whether it was the Kings forsaking of Cromwell, that made him face about, and to be now of late so high against Him (for pure love to Justice, and the universall good of his Country it could not be) or that lost condition he might apprehend himself to be in by his apostacy, in the affection of all his old and faithful friends (which it may be he might fear, might produce him a great deal of danger and mischief, (especially his perceiving the Kings staggering in his confidence of him) if not prevented by his speedy fancie about, or at least pretending to justice and righteousness amongst men once againe:) I say, whether of these two it were, that had the strongest impression upon him, to worke so speedy a change in him, I know not.

But this, Mr. Speaker, I said unto my friends, and do aver unto you, that I was told by a very honest understanding Godly man (as I judge him) and one that is a very great honourer and doted upon Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, and one that hath had many bickerings

† The man is Mr. Hunt, by with me for contesting with him, † to this effect,

fect, That there was an honest, stout, gallant and godly Gentleman of this House (for so he stile him to me) and one that had been right for the Parliament, and his Country, all along; who being lately upon very good grounds (in his apprehension) told and informed by a Lady of quality in this Kingdom, that a bargain was struck betwixt Lieut: Gen: *Cromwel*, and the King, AND THAT CROMWEL WAS TO BE MADE EARL OF

name, now this present July, 1649. living in Mr *Hollands* lodgings at Whitehall, and as great a creature of Lieut: Gen: *Cromwel* now, as ever he was in his life; and now as intimate and familiar with him, as ever.

ESSEX; and since I have heard from other good hands a confirmation of it AND THAT HE WAS TO HAVE BESIDES A GEORGE AND A BLEW RIBBON, AND BE MADE A KNIGHT OF THE GARTER, &c. AND HIS OWN SON BEDCHAMBER-MAN TO THE PRINCE, AND HIS SON IN LAW IRETON WAS EITHER TO BE LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND, OR AT LEAST FIELD-MARSHALL GENERALL OF IRELAND: And this Member of your House (as he told me) entering into the serious consideration of these things, and believing they might be too true, was even confounded and amazed in himself, that England's Liberties, and the protectors and preservers thereof, should at once be betraid (and as it were bought and sold (and that by Lieutenant Generall CROMWEL, a quondam bosom friend; that he that sometimes had been the glory of English-men (for professed honesty publicly upon the house top) should now become the scorn and basest of his Nation, in under-hand and under-board (while he pretended friendship to honest English-men and their liberties) to stab them to the heart, by betraying them to the King; against whom, for the preservation of them, they had been fighting all this while, was that, Mr Speaker, that confounded and amazed the gallant Gentleman, to think with himself, that if this under-hand bargain betwixt the King and Cromwel should be true (for it seems he believed it was) all the honest men in England (that in the integrity of their hearts had adhered to the Parliament, and vigorously acted against the King) were destroyed and undone, and the liberties of England now in a worse condition, then they were before any of this late blood shed for them; for by this bargain, if the King were restored upon it, he would have the interest and power of the Army at his beck and command (besides his own party) by means of which, he would be enabled to cut off the head of every honest gallant English man in England, that he had a mind to destroy, and for ever to subdue their laws and liberties, and make the survivors perfect vassals and slaves: The serious consideration of which, with a hot burning zealous indignation, so fired his soul, and elevated his spirit, that he by an unresistable force concluded, that necessarily one man must perish to save the whole Nation; and therefore resolved with himself, that he would be the man that would play the part of a second FELTON, was by an inward compul-

hon, resolv'd to go to Windsor (then the head Quarters) and wherever he met Lieutenant Generall Cromwel (either with his pistol or dagger) to dispatch him, as a desperate apostatized Traitor to the liberties of his Country, though he were destroyed when he had so done : And truly, Mr Speaker, as I understand, this had been vigorously attempted by him, if he had not revealed his intention to a Friend of his, another Member of this House, who stop'd him, by force, in a Chamber at White-hall : And this Gentleman that told me the story, speedily hearing of it, wrote a large and pithy Letter to the Lieutenant Generall, of almost a sheet of paper ; wherein (to my understanding) he acquitted himself, not only as a Christian, but also as a faith-

* Then at the Sarazens head in Friday street, with Mr John Wildman, my then bosom Friend, and zealous and bold asserter of Englands freedom : though now he hath not only lost all his seal, but I am afraid, his honesty, and his principles, and is clos'd with familiarity and design with Cromwel, although no man in England knows his knavery better than he.

upon reall and just principles, viz. for the good of the Commonwealth : And now, Mr Speaker, if the House do question the truth of this relation, I do believe, within a little time, I shall be able to procure a copy of the Letter ; but if I cannot do that now, I will engage my credit and life, to produce my Author at this Bar ; who, I am confident, hath so much honesty in him, that he will not deny the truth of what he told me. But truly, Mr Speaker, as for the Gentlemans name of this House, that should have been the Second FELTON, I was not told it ; though I confesse, so many circumstances were hinted to me, that I believe at the first guesse I could name him, but I cease that now.

And desire further to acquaint this House, that for all the late seeming changes in Lieutenant Generall Cromwel, I press'd them, they should not be too credulous in believing him, till they see him to be an active instrument, really and effectually to do some transcendent thing, that was for the universal good of all the Commons of England, which I could not fully apprehend in these late Votes of Non-Addresses, simply in themselves considered ; for as yet I could see nothing further in them, then a kind of revenge, to pull down the King (because he had withdrawn his affections from them, and at present given them to the Scots) by means of which, they were deprived of their large hopes of rule and domination over the people under him, their

full English man ; for, Mr Speaker, he came to my lodging in * London, and told me the effectually substance of this story, and read unto me the copy of his large Letter, and took the opportunity thereof, to presse me to a patient expectation of the issues of things, and to moderate my heat against the Lieutenant Generall, for he was confident there would be in him a speedy visible change, and he hoped it would be for the good of the Kingdom ; the fruit of which he doubted not but I in my particular, might come speedily to reap : And truly, Mr Speaker, I have perceived a kind of a change in Lieutenant Generall Cromwels visible actions ever since : but I wish my understanding could be groundedly satisfi'd, it were

sole and only true end enclosing with him; and therefore were now necessitated, for the obtaining the declared ultimate of their desires, viz. the setting up themselves, to pull down him: And if in these Votes they had intended reall good unto the generality of the people, they would have with them, instated them in the possession of some just and gallant freedoms and priviledges, worth their engaging again with and for the Parliament, in a new War; and so to have made them in love with the House, for their justice and goodnesse, handed out unto them; that their lives, nor estates, might not have been dear to them, but with willingnesse they might have freely adventured all they had, in opposing those that opposed them.

Whereas now with these Votes, they had nothing that was of generall good holden out unto them, but the likely-hood of a new War, in provoking afresh, to the highest, all the Kings party, the Scotch, and the Zealots amongst the Presbyters; yea, and so passing their Votes, that in themselves rightly considered, they signified nothing; for if the Parliament fac'd back again, and un-voted them the next Week, as it is possible they might, these Votes were but a snare, to hazard the future destruction of those men, that at present should rejoyce at them, and in them: And, Mr Speaker, they were desired to consider, that if we implicitly, and hand over head, without first groundedly knowing what should be the prize of all our hazards and bloud, should again engage against the King, and also against the Scots (who had declared so much enmity, as to root up by the roots, all that would not concur to their every thing and nothing Presbyterie, under the names of Heretiques and Sectaries) who were now likely, upon the Kings interest, to invade the Kingdom: what should we get by it? It's true; we might be the occasion of shedding much bloud, but in the conclusion it was possible our own might be shed: But suppose we were Conquerours, and the Army by our means did overcome the Scots: what better were we then? nay, were we not worse then, then now we are? and more likely to be made slaves, then now we are? For seeing the Grandees in the Army and Parliament, have declared so much bitternesse and enmity of spirit against all those principles of righteousness and justice, that we have promoted and proposed; without the firm establishment of which, it is impossible for us ever to be any other then vassals; and those that rule over us, perfect Tyrants: and if implicitly we should help them to subdue the Scots, we should but thereby the more easily enable them to make the more perfect slaves of us, when we had: whom we might easily see (by their malicious and bloody prosecuting of our late Friends in the Army) did not anew begin to court us, out of any love to us, or out of any free disposition to do us or the Kingdoms good, but meerly because they had need of us, and did not well know how to go through their work, at present,

* without us.

* Which I have undeniably

proved, in my late Book, of the 8 June, 1649. pag. 34, 35, 36, 37, 38. to be their only design in all their courting of us in the day of their distresse, and that there is no more truth in the promises, and engagements they then made, then in the Devils; who I will never hereafter believe, in whatsoever they say, or swear.

† Which is fully witnessed for a truth, by Major *Huntington* (*Cromwells* quondam darling) in the 11 page of his foresaid charge; where he declares *Cromwells* great rejoycing after his first breacking of the Parliament, and getting the remaining part to own the Army, and settle pay upon them: Now, saith *Cromwel*, we may, for ought I know, be an Army so long as we live; and that he was as able to govern the Kingdom, as either *Stapleton*, or *Hollis*, &c. which he declares to be the principall thing, in all his contests with the Parliament, he sought after.

in those gallant, just and rationall things, the generall heart-burnings of the Kingdom would be alaid; and confidence in love and respect to each other, would be raised up amongst us; and our union of hearts thereby each to other, as Englishmen, would be as a wall of brasse, for securing the common interest of our Nation: So that neither Scotchman, nor any forraign power in Europe, durst to invade us: so that in the vigorous prosecuting of this Petition, union and love would be increased, and war prevented thereby: whereas nothing in the world will occasion wars so much, as our dis-union and heart-burnings each to other: which is impossible ever to be alaid; but either by the active prosecuting of this Petition, or something like it; that so

For truly, Mr Speaker, as I told my Friends, I was afraid that the interest of the generality of the Officers, in the Army, but especially the Grandees, was not peace, righteousness, justice and freedom, but wars, fightings and catchings, and without the continuance of which, I conceived they could not continue their pride and tyrannicall domination over their Souldiers, and the rest of the people of the Kingdom (and absolutely I conceive their interest to be war) But it was our interest, and the generality of the people of the Kingdom, to prevent wars, if it were possible. But if we must engage in war again, it was our interest and wisdom, so to engage, if it were possible, as that meerly as English men, we might be unanimous in our engagements, either against the Scots, or any other interests whatsoever, that would rob us of our English liberties and freedoms: And, Mr Speaker, I told them both these things were contained in the Petition: For First, if those things were granted unto us, that were desired in the Petition, it was impossible for us to conceive of any thing else: the want of which, is worth the going to war for: And if the Petition were vigorously promoted, and pursued to the House, without all controversy it hath such excellent things in it, so good in themselves; for all sorts and kinds of English men, that if the House and the people should be united

something

something that is good for all men, as English-men, might be settled:

But in the second place, if we could not be so speedy in the prosecution of this Petition, so as to get those universall good and just things, therein contained, settled, before the Scots begun to Invade us; yet if upon their march we should enjoy the possession of them, *it would make the generality of English-men stand together as one man*; and all of them in the spirit, and with the principles of English-men, oppose them: so that the War (if it must be) would be carried on with that vigor and strength, that it were impossible, *for all the power in Scotland, if they did the worst they could to destroy our Nation*:

Whereas now in our divided condition, they will be sure if they come in, to make a prey of us; for in their coming in, *they declare for the King's Interest*, which absolutely unites and knits their owne Kingdom as one man against us; and glues unto them in England, *all the Kings party*, and of necessity *the Presbyters must joyne with their Masters of the Covenant*; and risings there will be of necessity, and without all peradventure, all over the Kingdome: and if the Army be united within themselves (*as it is a very great question whether they be or no*) and were able to deale and grabble with all that opposition it is like to meet with, from those severall parties and interests, that here are like to rise up against it; yet truly Mr Speaker, though I do not like the late apostatized actions of the great men in the Army, I do as little like the Scotch high-flown expressions, to instate the King absolutely in to the Militia as His right, and His absolute Negative Voice: And indeed Mr Speaker, it sounds not wel nor justly in my eares, for the Scots, who are and will be free men at home, and will neither (as I am told) allow the King the exercise of the Militia in their Kingdome, nor His Negative Voice, no nor yet the benefit of His Revenne; that they should notwithstanding all this, go about to make us all slaves, byfettering us with His mischievous Negative Voice, and His absolute exercise of our Militia, which seemes to me to be nothing lesse, then a desire to pick a quarrell with us, that so, Mr Speaker, they might come in againe for some more of our guidis; therefore Mr Speaker, I cry out for union and peace upon just principles: For the very beginnings of War againe amongst us, would presently destroy that little Trade that is left, and then undoubtedly comes in famine, which is already at our very doores; for Mr Speaker, they were told a story to this effect, That some *Wilke-shire* Cloathiers, coming to the *Sarazens head* in *Friday-street*, had for a truth reported to the Master of the house, that Trading was already so decayed in their Country, that that Cloathier that used to set an hundred poor people at worke, could now scarce set twewe; insomuch, that the poor peoples necessities were growne so great in that Country, that they already begin in companies of six, ten,

12. 20, &c. to meet together in the Market Roads, and to take away the Country-mens Corne, as they carried it to sell at the Market, and before their faces to divide it amongst themselves, but give them their Horses and Sacks againe; and withall tell them, that meer hunger forced and necessitated them to do what they did.

And truly Mr Speaker, things are like shortly to be as bad at London, for want of Trade; for I have heard such grievous complaints from two sorts of people especially, that it would pittie any mans heart (that hath the heart of a man) to hear of the wants and necessities of divers families amongst them, that formerly had lived in good fashion; and they are the *Weavers & Cloathworkers*; and as for the *Weavers*, their Trade consisting principally in Ribbons and Laces; but superfluities in such things being laid aside, their Trade was growne exceeding dead, and many hundreds of their families fallne into great miseries and wants, by reason that the most part of that little remaining part of their Trade that is left them, is taken from them by *French men, Wallons, &c.* and that which adds unto their misery, Mr Speaker, is this; That the Lord Major and Court of Aldermen, do put in execution of late A MOST WICKED, ILLEGAL Order, or Ordinance, of their owne making, by reason of which, their Catchpoles, seize upon the goods of the said poor Free men of London, and beat and wound them, yea, and have committed murder upon some of them, if they come to any Innes, &c. and offer to sell their goods to any but Shopkeepers, who will give them but what they please for them; so that the poor *Weavers*, though Free-men of London, are not only in miserable poverty, but in the miserablest slavery (in the City where they by name are Free-men) that it is possible for men to be in, and to bear it with patience.

And Mr Speaker, the poor *Cloathworkers*, who by the expresse Statute-Law of the Kingdom, ought to
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 Chap. 6. * that the Merchant; Patentee Monopolizers, commonly called the Merchant Adventurers, send into the Low-Countries, and Denmarke; but now by reason that the chiefe of that Law, Liberty and Trade-destroying Monopoly; are Commissioners of the Custome-House, which in justice, equity and reason, no Trading Merchants whatever, never ought to be, they are deprived of their right in that particlar, and crush'd in pieces with potency, and great purses; whereas, in the time of so exceeding great decay of Trade, it were more just and necessary to enable them to dresse the other nine, to set their poor families at work, many of which are ready to starve, then to take one piece of the tenth Cloath from them.

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Mr. Speaker, All these things, with many more that then were minded, *represented the miseries of this Kingdom very sad and great*, and made the present Speaker there conclude, That if War did come amongst us, of necessity Famine would follow, *and that would occasion all the poor people all over England to rise confusedly in hurly burly, and to cut the throats of their rich neighbours, to get their riches to buy them bread to keep them alive*: and whether or no they might not as soon fall upon us, that they looked upon as Round-heads, Independent, Sectaries, &c. and so destroy us for our cordial and faithful adherence to the Parliament, whom *now the most of them looked upon as those that had brought all their evils and miseries upon them*. From all which considerations, it was (Mr. Speaker) with earnestness pressed vigorously to promote this Petition all over the Kingdom, *as the only means to heal and cure all our diseases and maladies*, the things therein contained being so just in themselves, that none but those that desired to be *absolute Tyrants*, could speak against them: the obtaining of which would settle peace and quietness amongst us, and so cause Trade again to flourish. And Mr. Speaker, to presse this nail home to the head, I do confesse that I further added, that if such a generall confusion (as before is spoken of) should arise, it would then (I was confident of it) be greater security from the rage of the rude multitude, to be known to be a vigorous prosecutor of this gallant, just and righteous Petition, (that did as much concern their good as our own) then to wear a blue Ribbon in our hats. And truly, Mr. Speaker, I may now with my pen add this, That blue Ribbons being Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Colours, who now with his Army are the grand and strong protection of all those that march under his Colours, under which whosoever shall come, may probably think to have safety; yet I was of opinion, and still am, That publick knowledge of a vigorous and strong acting in so transcendent, gallant and just a Petition as this is, in the day of a feared universall storm in England, will be of greater security and protection, then to be one of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army; and to wear his Colours of blue Ribbons in his hat: for the Kingdom generally look upon the Souldiers now as their oppressors, and destroyers of their Laws, Liberties and Properties: but the promoters and procurers of the just things contained in this Petition, cannot chuse but be looked on by them as the *repairers of their breaches*, and the restorers of their Laws and Liberties.

Mr. Speaker, When we were coming away, there was one of the company said, *That he heard a rumour abroad, as if the Lords had offered me a large sum of money so I would desist from prosecuting this large Petition; he therefore desired me to give him a true account, whether this report were true or no.*

Unto which I answered to this effect, That it was not true; but it was possible it might arise from the report of some Messages I lately had received from the Lord WHARTON: And Mr. Speaker, for that particular, I told him to this effect, That not long since, there came a Gentleman of some quality (and a man I look upon as an ingenuous man) to my lodging in London, and told me before two other Gentlemen (friends of mine) to this effect, *That my Lord Wharton remembered*

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REGULAR INATION

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"his respect unto me, who (he told me, he was very confident) was my
 "very good friend, and would willingly serve me (and that he did be-
 "leeve, cordially) in any thing that lay within his power; and who, as
 "he told me, did very much consider my long suffering condition, by
 "reason of which he did believe money was not very plentiful with me,
 "and therefore he was come from him to let me know, that he hath in
 "readinesse a very considerable token for me, which he would send me,
 "if he thought it would not be scorned, but accepted in love and
 "respect.

Unto which (after a little pause) I answered to this effect, That I
 desired him to present my service to his Lordship, and from mee to
 thank him for his civility and courtesie towards me; *But for me to receive
 his money, I could not in the least do it: because for me who professed ingenui-
 ty, and abhorred ingratitude (as a most dishonourable thing in any man what-
 soever) to receive his money, it must needs to me become an obliging engagement,
 and tie me one way or another to studie how to requite it, which truly I told
 him, to his Lordship, (as he was now a Parentee prerogative Lord, and
 exercised a Legislative and arbitrary power by vertue thereof, which I
 looked upon as altogether destructive to the very being of the Liberties
 and Freedoms of the Commons of England) I could not in the least do it:
 but was absolutely resolved to professe open War with his arbitrary. Prerogative-
 Lordship as long as I had breath in my body, and never to be reconciled un-
 to it: And therefore in short, tell his Lordship from me, that if I were
 in such great straits, that I had not one penny in all the world (nor
 knew not whereto borrow it) to buy me, my Wife, and Children bread
 to save us alive, and if in this great strair, his Lordship as he now is,
 should send me ten thousand pounds in gold, I would scorn to accept, or let my
 fingers so much as touch one peece of it; or that any that belonged to me, with my
 consent should do it for me.*

But I desired him to tell his Lordship from me, that if he pleased to
 throw away his arbitrary, tyrannical parentee, Lordly power, (which was,
 and would be the ruine of this Kingdome) and would put himself upon the
 affection of his Countrey, to be chosen a Knight of a Shire, as a well-de-
 serving Englishman, I should then honour him, and be willing and
 ready to accept of the meanest token that he should send me, though it
 were but Five shillings, and judg my self obliged to serve him, and should
 readily doe it, yea, in preserving his reall propriety in his great estate unvi-
 lably; yea, and the title of his Honour, hereditary to his posterity for ever.
 And as I told my friend, Mr. Speaker, the Report might arise from this,
 which relation is true, and hath not been delivered to me once, nor
 twice, but oftner. But Mr. SPEAKER, I shall acquaint you further, that
 I in part acquainted my friend, how ingenuously I had dealt not only
 with my Lord WHARTON, but the whole House of Peeres; in that I
 obeyed their first Warrant they sent to me to come to their Barr, the 10th.
 June, 1646. and immediately as soon as I was served with it, being about
 six a clock on the next morning at my own house, (and I was to appear
 before them at Ten the same morning) I went immediately to my Lord
 Whartons house; and he being not stirring, I desired his servant to tell
 his Lordship what had happened; and that in regard I was obliged to their
 House

House, for the late Justice they had done for me about my reparations against the Star-chamber Judges, **BEING OLD SIR HENRY VANE, &c.** I was resolved for ingenuity and gratitude sake, to *vail* my Bonnet to them, as farre as with honesty and a good conscience I could; And therefore it was that I had obeyed their Warrant, and promised to appear at their Barre; which, as I sent him word, was more then by Law I was bound unto: but yet when I came there, I was resolved at their Bar, to protest against their jurisdiction over a Commoner; but I could doe no lesse then acquaint his Lordship with it before-hand, that so if he pleased to save and preserve the honour of their House, he might; if not, I would doe it, if I dyed for it: And if his Lordship pleased, I would meet him at the stroke of Nine a clock at **COL. FLEETWOODS** in black-Fryers, to talk with him further about it, where he appointed to meet me; and away went I, to a friend, and drew up my Protestation, leaving him one copy to print in case I were imprisoned, and I took another, with my hand and seal to it; and accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I met my Lord at Col. Fleetwoods house, who as I remember, was gone abroad, whereupon I walked with my Lord to the black-Fryersbridg, where we had a large discourse about the Lords originall jurisdiction over Commoners; and I shewed him my protestation, the marrow of which he read; and I earnestly intreated him that he would be pleased to speak to the **EARL OF ESSEX AND WARWICK, AND MY LORD ROBERTS**, who was the principall man that had done all my businessse for me, and tell them from me, I bore so much honourable respect unto them, and their House, that if they pleased to command me to wait upon them, I would; and upon all the rest of the Lords in the house, and freely answer them to any questions that they in honour could demand of me, and I in conscience return an answer to, *alwayes provided they talked not with me as a House, nor a Committee from their House*, for having been fighting for my Liberties and Freedoms, I protested unto his Lordship before the God of Heaven and Earth, (and so I wisht him to tell them) that if they forced me to their Bar, I both must and would protest against their incroachment upon the Commoners Rights, and appeal for justice against them to the House of Commons, although I died for it immediately: And his Lordship told me, he beleaved the House of Commons would not stand by me: and I answered, I was confident they would, for it was their own Interest; but if they would not, I told his Lordship, now I knew my Liberties, I would never betray them while I breathed. And this, my Lord, I tell you further, and do professe it before Almighty God, that if your House will not be ruled by reason, but by their greatnesse think to crush me, and by force engage me in a contest against you, I so well understand the firmnesse of the grounds upon which I go, that I will venture my heart bloud against you, and never make peace with you, till either you have destroyed me, or I have pricked you or your Usurpations up by the roots. So away he went, and kept it off till about one of the clock. And, Mr. Speaker, when I was called in to their Bar, in going in I put no affront upon them, but went bare-head, and gave them three or four conges (with all respect) before I came to their Bar: where they fell a

playing the High Commission Court with me, in examining me upon Interrogatories against my self; which forced me to deliver in my Protest against them; so that, Mr. Speaker, I am sure I pick'd no quarrell (nor sought any) with them. But now, Mr. Speaker, being so deeply engaged against them by their own folly as I am, *for the preservation of the Laws and Liberties of my native Country*, against their trampling them under their feet, in the enjoyment or practise of their usurpations, I will never make peace with them while I live, *but studie night and day how to pluck them up by the roots*; which I am confident, Mr. Speaker, is also the duty of this House, if they will rightly and truly discharge their duty to the Kingdom, according to that trust they have reposed in them.

The Reader may be pleased to take notice that at the Bar when I was speaking of writing of Letters, I took notice of one of the priests *positive Charges*, which was that I had writ a Letter to Sir *Anthony Weldon* of Kent: which I told M. Speaker was the absolutest lye in the world, for I never had a hand in the least in writing or inditing a Letter to Sir *Ant. Weldon*, neither did I read or heard read any Letter unto him; But M. Speaker said *I, there is well nigh forty lyes more as palpable ones as this in his Relation*, which I dare with confidence aver it at this bar, if I had in writing *verbatim* the very relation that he hath now made before this House by word of mouth, (for all his confidence) that I could by multitude of witnesses of upright life & conversation in all their conversings with their neighbours, and of untainted fidelity to the Parliament and the common interest of the Kingdom in the worst of times, *punctually prove the greatest part of forty absolute lyes and falsehoods, in his present confident relation*; and for his averring that I said or it was said at the meeting that we would only make use of the Parliaments name, *and of our Petition to them, for a cloak to colour our raising of the people til we were strong enough to destroy them*; M. Speaker, I aver it with confidence upon my life there was no such thing spoken at all in the foresaid meeting, or any thing so much as tending thereunto all the time I was there, but the absolute quite contrary; the truth of which I am confident will if need require, be averred upon Oath by the generality of the whole Company then met together.

And therefore Master Speaker I shall draw towards a conclusion; but being that which followed is printed at large in the 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, &c pages of the forementioned Book Called a Whip for the present House of Lords; I for brevities sake shall here passe it over and refer the Reader if he pleases to the perusing of it there, where also he will find I was like to be murdered at the House door by their Guard, because I would not go to prison but by vertue of a Warrant made according to that forme the law requires all Mittimussees to be; but being overpoured with drawn Swords and bent Muskets, I was forced to the Tower as a pretended Traytor; And therefore to record to posterity the desperate and inveterate malice and hatred of *Grommel* and his associates against the Liberties and freedoms of England who to the breadth of an haire are like those wicked men in Christs time unto whom in *Mat. 23. 13.* he thus speaketh: But wo unto Scribes and Pharisees Hypocrites, for ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against men, for ye neither goe in you selves, neither suffer ye them that are entering in to go in.

in; Even so traiterous, bloody and ambitious *Cromwell* and his wicked associates will neither do good themselves in settling the Liberties of England nor suffer those that would to doe it, therefore woe unto them hypocrites and painted Sepulchers, who for all their fair pretences hate the Liberties of England more then they do the Devil, and rather then the people shall enjoy any real good for all the cost and hazards in seaven yeares wars for their Liberties and Freedoms, and so rid themselves of their Lordly and tyrannicall yokes, they wil shake Kingdoms and Nations, and hazard all yea their own lives by dint of Sword in new and bloody Wars, rather then the people shall enjoy their Liberties, or those without an imprisonment for Traytors that fairely and justly prosecute them; the last war in this Nation and all the innocent blood shed therein, lying principally upon *Cromwel* and *Iretons* score, for breaking all their faith, promises and engagements made unto the Kingdom for their glorious settling of their Liberties which they not only failed in but begun to set up a selfish and Tyrannicall Interest of their own, and persecuted unto death and bonds the zealous sticklers for the peoples welfare, liberties and freedoms, which begot heart burnings and divisions, and thereby put the people into fury and madnesse, which brought in an inundation of bloodshed. For the demonstrating this in part take here.

A Copy of the Petition (for promoting of which *M. Iohn Wildman* and I were imprisoned a matter of seven months as Traytors, which thus followeth.

To the Supream Authority of England, the Commons assembled in
PARLIAMENT.

The earnest Petition of many Free-people of this Nation.

SHEWETH,

THat the devouring fire of the Lords wrath, hath burnt in the Bowels of this miserable Nation, untill its almost consumed.

That upon a due search into the causes of Gods heavie judgments, we find (a) that injustice and oppression, have been the common Nationall finnes, for which the Lord hath threatned woes, confusions and desolations, unto any people or nation; *Wo* (saith God) *unto the oppressing City*, *Zeph. 3. 1.*

That when the King had opened the (b) Flood-gates of injustice and oppression (c) upon the people, and yet peremptorily declared, that the People, who trusted him for their good, could not in, or by their Parliament require any account of the discharge of his trust; and when by a pretended negative voice (d) to Laws, he would not suffer the strength of the Kingdom, the *Militia*, to be so disposed of, that oppression might be safely remedied, and oppressours brought to condigne punishment, but raised

cem 1641. p. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15. (d) See the Kings Answer to the Petition of Right, and also the Parlia. Remon. of May 19. 1642. 1 part Book Dec. pag. 254, 284, 285. See the Kings Answer to the Par. Dec. of May 26. 1642. p. 298. (e) See the Ord. for Militia. 1641. 1 Book Dec. p. 89. 105. 106. 114. 126. 175, 176. 182. 243. 283, 292.

a) *Ezek. 24. 6. 8*

9. 10. *Amos 5*

9, 10, 11, 12.

Mic. 2. 2, 3.

& 3. 3. 4, 9, 10,

11, 12.

Nahum 3. 1. 2.

19. *Hab. 1. 3, 4,*

6. & 2. 8. 11,

12 17. *Joel 3. 6, 7*

8. (b) by Ship-

mony, Loane-

mony, Coat &

conduct mo-

ny, Patents

Monopolies,

&c. (c) See

the Remon-

strance of the

State of the

Kingdom De-

(f) See the Par.
Voices May 20.
1642. 1 part
Book Dec. 259
See also p. 465.
509 576. 580.
584. 617, 618.

a War (f) to protect the *Subverters* of our *Laws and Liberties*, and maintain *Himself*, to be subject to no *account*, even for such *oppressions*, and pursuing after an *oppressive power*, the Judge of the earth, with whom the *Throne of iniquity* can have no *fellowship*, hath brought him low and executed fierce wrath upon many of his adherents.

That God expects justice from those before whose eyes he hath destroyed an unjust generation, Zeph. 3. 6, 7. and without doing justly, and relieving the oppressed, God abhors fastings and prayers, and accounts himselfe mocked, Psa. 1. 8 & 21. 27. Isa. 1. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 & 29. 13, 14. & 58. 4, 5, 6, 7. & 66. 2, 3. Jer. 6. 19, 20. & 7. 9, 10, 11, 14. Amos 5. 0, 7, 15. 21, 22, 23. Mich. 6. 6, 7, 8.

That our eyes fail with looking to see the foundations of our Freedoms and peace secured by this Honorable House, and yet we are made to depend upon the Will of the King, and the Lords, which were never chosen or entrusted by the People, to redresse their grievances. And this Honorable House, which formerly declared that they were the Representatives of all England, and be trusted with our estates, liberties and lives, a part Book of Decla. 264. 382. do now declare by their practice, that they will not redresse our grievances, and settle our freedoms, unless the King and the Lords will.

That in case you should thus proceed, Parliaments will be rendered wholly uselesse to the People, and their happinesse left to depend solely upon the will of the King, and such as he by his Patents creates Lords; and so the invaluable price of all the precious English blood, spilt in the defence of our freedoms against the King, shall be imbezelled, or lost; and certainly, God the avenger of blood, will require it of the obstructors of justice and freedom, Judges 9. 23, 24.

That though our Petitions have been burned, and our persons imprisoned, reviled, abused, only for petitioning, yet we cannot despair absolutely of all bowels of Compassion in this Honorable House to an enslaved perishing people. We still nourish some hopes that you will at last consider our Estates are expended, the whole trade of the Nation decayed, thousands of families impoverished, and mercilesse Famine is entering into our gates, and therefore we cannot, but once more essay to pierce your ears with our dolefull cries for Justice and Freedom, before your delays wholly consume the Nation. In particular, we earnestly intreat;

(g) See the
Kings Deccla.
cf the 12 of
Aug 1642. 1
part Book Dec.
p. 522. 526. 528
548. & p. 617.

(h) See 1 part
book Dec. p.
44, 150. 207.
496. 637. 690.
726, 728.

1. that seeing we conceive this Honorable House is intrusted by the People, with all power to redresse our grievances, and to provide security for our Freedoms, by making or repealing laws, Erecting or abolishing Courts, displacing or placing Officers, and the like; and seeing upon this consideration, we have often made our addressees to you; and yet we are to depend for all our expected good, upon the wills of others, who have brought all our misery (g) upon us: that therefore in case this Honourable House will not, or cannot according to their trust, relieve and helpe us, that it be cleerly declared; that we may know to whom as the Supreme power, we may make our present addressees before we perish, or be enforced to flie to the Prime Laws of nature (h) for refuge.

2. That as we conceive all Governours and Magistrates being the Ordinance

dinance (i) of men, before they be the Ordinance of God; and no authority being of God approbationally, but what is erected by the mutual consent of a People; and being this Honorable House alone represent (or ought to represent) the people of this Nation; that therefore no person whatsoever be permitted to exercise any power or authority in this Nation, who shall not clearly and confessedly receive his power from this House, and be always accountable for the discharge of his trust, to the people in their representatives in Parliament; or otherwise, that it be declared who they are which assume to themselves a Power according to their own wills, and not received as a trust from the People, that we may know to whose Wills we must be subject, and under whom we must suffer such oppressions as they please, without a possibility of Justice against them.

3. That considering, that all just power and Authority in this Nation, which is not immediately derived from the people, can be derived only from this honourable House; and that the People are perpetually subject to Tyranny, when the Jurisdiction of Courts, and the power and Authority of Officers are not clearly described, and their bounds and limits (k) prefixed: That therefore the Jurisdiction of every Court of Judicature, and the power of every Officer or Minister of Justice, with their bounds and limits, be forthwith declared by this Honorable House, and that it be enacted, that the Judges of every Court, which shall exceed its jurisdiction, and every other Officer or Minister of Justice, which shall intermeddle with matters not coming under his Cognizance, shall incur the forfeiture of his and their whole estates: and likewise, That all unnecessary Courts may be forthwith abolished; and that the publick Treasury, out of which the Officers solely ought to be maintained, (l) may be put to the less charge.

4. That whereas there are multitudes of complaints of Oppression by Committees of this House, determining particular matters, which properly appertain to the cognizance of the Ordinary Courts (m) of Justice; and whereas many persons of faithfull and publick spirits have been and are daily molested, vexed, imprisoned by such Committees, sometimes for not answering Interrogatories, and sometimes for other matters, which are not in Law criminal; and also without any legal Warrants expressing the cause, and commanding the Jaylor safely to keep their bodies untill they be delivered by due course (n) of Law: And by these oppressions the persons and estates of many are wasted and destroyed; That therefore henceforth no particular cause, whether criminal or other, which comes under the cognizance of the Ordinary Courts of Justice, may be determined by this House, or any Committee thereof; or any other then by those Courts whose duty it is to execute such Laws as this Honourable House shall make, and who are to be censured by this House in case of injustice: Alwayes excepted, matters relating to the late War, for indemnity for your assistants; and the exact observation

i) See Col. Nash. Fienes's his Speech against the Bishops Canons, made in 1640, in a book called Speeches and Passages of Parl. from 3. Novemb. 1640. to June 1641. p. 50 51. 52.

k) See your Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, book Dec. p. 6. 8. 15. See also the act made this Parliament, that abolished the Star-chamber and High-Commission.

l) See the statute of Westminster. 1. made 3 Ed. 1 chap. 26. & 20. Ed. 3. 1. and the Judges Oath made in the 18. of Ed. 3. Ann. 1334. recorded in Puttons collections of Statutes fol. 144.

m) See the 29. c. of Mag. Charta, & Sir Ed. Cooks Exposition up.

(n) See the Petition of Right made in the 3. of the King, and Sir Edward Cooks 2 part Institutes. f. 52. 53.

in this 2 part Instit. f. 46. to 57. and the Petis. of Right. 4 part. Inst. f. 84. (n) See the Petition of Right made in the 3. of the King, and Sir Edward Cooks 2 part Institutes. f. 52. 53. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164.

n) See Psal. 15.

4. Exod. 5. 3.

Deut. 23. 21. 22.

2 Sam. 21. 5, 6.

Eccel. 5. 4, 5.

o) See Rom. 4. 15

p) See 36. E. 3.

15 & 1 Cor. 14.

7. 8, 11, 15, 19,

23. See also

the English

Chronicles, in

the Reign of

Wil. conqueror

q) See Exo. 24.

7. & 31. 18.

& Chap. 34. &

Deut. 30. 12,

13, 14. & 5. 1,

5, 24, 27, 31.

and 6. 1, 6, 7, 8.

and 9. 10. and

11. 18, 19. 20.

and 27. 8.

r) See Sir Ed-

ward Cook in

his 1 part. Inst.

13. c. 13. Sect.

791. fol. 368.

Where he pos-

itively declares

it was the na-

tive and ancient

rights of all

Englishmen,

both by the Sta-

tutes and com-

mon Law of

England, to pay

no Fees at all to

any administra-

tors of Justice whatsoever.

See also 2 part Inst. f. 74, 176, 209, 210, and 176. And be there

gives this reason why Judges should take no Fees of any man for doing his Office, because he should

be free and at liberty to do justice, and not to be fettered with golden Fees, as fetters to the subver-

sion or suppression of truth and Justice. (s) See the Articles of high Treason in our Chroni-

cles against Indg Treason, in Richard the seconds time; and the judgment of Justice

Thorpe for taking money in Edward the Thirds time, 3 part Cooks Instit. fol. 145, 146,

147: 163: 164: 165.

of all Articles granted to the adverse (n) Party; and that henceforth no person be molested or imprisoned by the will or arbitrary powers of any, or for such matters as are not crimes (o) according to Law. And that all persons imprisoned at present for any such matters, or without such legal Warrants as above-said, upon what pretence, or by what Authority soever, may be forthwith released, with due reparations. See the *Armies Book of Declar.* pag. 11. 31. 32. 33. 34. 45. 97.

5. That considering its a Badge of our slavery to a Norman Conqueror, to have our Laws in the French Tongue; and it is little lesse then brutish vassalage to be bound to walk by Laws which the people (p) cannot know, that therefore all the Laws and Customs of this Realm be immediately written in our mother-Tongue (q) without any abbreviations of words, and in the most known vulgar hand, viz. Roman or Secretary; and that Writs, Processes, and Enrolments be issued forth, entred, or enrolled in English, and such manner of writing as aforesaid.

6. That seeing in *Magna Charta*, which is our native Right, it is pronounced in the name of all Courts, *That we will sell to no man, we will not deny, or defer to do any man either Justice or Right*: notwithstanding we can obtain no Justice, or Right, neither from the common ordinary Courts, or Judges, nor yet from your own Committees, thought it be in case of indemnity for serving you, without paying a dear price for it; that therefore our native (r) Right be restored to us, which is now also the price of our blood; that in any Court whatsoever, no moneys be extorted from us, under pretence of Fees to the Officers of the Courts or otherwise; And that for this end sufficient salaries or pensions be allowed to the Judges, and Officers of Courts, as was of old out of the common Treasury, that they may maintain their Clerks and servants, and keep their Oathes uprightly, wherein they swear to take no Money or cloaths, or other Rewards, except meat and drink in a small quantity, besides what is allowed them by the King: and this we may with the more confidence claim as our Right, seeing this honorable House hath declared, in case of Ship-money, and in the case of the Bishops Canons, that not one penny by any power whatsoever, could be levied upon the people, without common consent in Parliament, and sure we are that the Fees now exacted by Judges and Clerks, and Jaylor, and all kinde of Ministers of Justice, are not serled upon them by Act of Parliament, and therefore by your own declared principles, destructive to our property; (s) therefore we desire it may be enacted to be death for any Judge, Officer, or minister of Justice, from the highest to the lowest, to exact the least moneys, or the worth of moneys, from any person whatsoever, more than his pension or salary, allowed from the common Treasury. And that no Judge of any Court may continue above three years.

And be there gives this reason why Judges should take no Fees of any man for doing his Office, because he should be free and at liberty to do justice, and not to be fettered with golden Fees, as fetters to the subversion or suppression of truth and Justice. (s) See the Articles of high Treason in our Chronicles against Indg Treason, in Richard the seconds time; and the judgment of Justice Thorpe for taking money in Edward the Thirds time, 3 part Cooks Instit. fol. 145, 146, 147: 163: 164: 165.

7. That whereas according to your owne complaint in your first Remonstrance of the (r) state of the Kingdom, occasion is given to bribery, extortion, and partiality, by reason that Judicell places, and other Offices of power and Trust are sold and bought; that therefore for prevention of all injustice, it be forthwith Enacted, to be death for any person or persons whatsoever, directly or indirectly, to buy, or sell, or offer or receive moneys or rewards, to procure for themselves or others any Office of power or Trust whatsoever: See for this purpose 12 R. 2. c. 2. & 5. & 6 Ed. 6. c. 16. & 1 part Cooks Institutes, fol. 3. 6. & fol. 233 b. and 234 d.

8. Whereas according to Justice and the equitable sense of the Law, Goals, and Prisons ought to be only used as places of safe custody, untill the constant appointed time of speedy tryals (u); and now they are made places of torment and the punishment of supposed offenders, they being detained many years without any Legall tryals; that therefore it be Enacted, that henceforth no supposed offender whatsoever may be denyed his Legall tryall at the first Sessions, Assizes, or Gaol-delivery, after his commitment (w) and that at such tryal, every such supposed offender, be either condemned or acquitted.

9. Whereas Monopolies of all kindes have been declared by this Honorable House, to be against the fundamentall Lawes of the Land, and all such restrictions of Trade, doe in the consequence destroy not only Liberty but property; that therefore all Monopolies whatsoever, and in particular that oppressive Company of Merchant-Adventurers be forthwith abolished, and a free Trade restored; and that all Monopolizers may give good reparation to the Commonwealth, and to particular parties who have been dammified by them, and to be made incapable of bearing any Office of power or trust in the Nation; and that the Votes of this House Novemb. 19. 16. 10. against their sitting therein, may be forthwith put in due execution.

10. Whereas this House hath declared in the first Remonstrance of the (x) state of the Kingdom, that Ship-money and Monopolies which were imposed upon the people before the late Warre, did at least amount to 1400000 l. per annum: and whereas since then, the Taxes have been double and treble; and the Army (y) hath declared that 1300000 l. per annum would compleatly pay all Forces and Garrisons in the Kingdom; and the Customs could not but amount to much more then would pay the Navie: so that considering the vast summes of moneys raised by proposition-money, the Asse and twentyeth part, sequestrations, and compositions, excise, and otherwise, it is conceived much Treasure is concealed; that therefore an Order issue forth immediately from this Honourable House to every parish in the Kingdom, to deliver in without delay to some faithfull persons, as perfect an accompt as possible, of all moneys levied in such Town, City or Parish; for what use or end soever, since the beginning of the late Warre, and to return the severall Receivers names, and that those who shall be employed by the severall Parishes in every Shire or County, to carry in those accompts to some appointed

1) See 1 part Book Dec. p. 9

u) See Sir Ed. Cook 1 part

Instit. l. 3. c. 7. sect. 438. fol.

260. a. who expressly saith,

Imprisonment must be a safe

custody, not a punishment;

and that a prisoner ought to

be for keeping men safe, not

to punish them. See also 2 part

Instit. f. 43. 315. 589. 590. 591. & 3. part

fol. 3. 35. & 4 part 168.

w) See the Statute of the

4 E. 3. 2. 12 R. 2. 10.

x) See 1 part Book Declar.

page 14.

y) See the Armies last Representation

to the House.

appointed place in the County, may have liberty to choose the receiver of them ; and that those selected persons by the severall parishes in every County or Shire, may have liberty to invest some one person in every of their respective Counties or places, with power to sit in a Committee at LONDON or elsewhere, to be the Generall Accomptants of the Kingdom, who shall publish their Accompts every month to the publick view, and that henceforth there be onely one Common Treasury, where the Books of Accompts may be kept by severall persons, open to the view of all men.

(2) 28 Edw. 1.
Chap. 8. & 13.
See 2 part.
instit. fol 174,
175, 558, 559.
where Sir Ed.
Cook positively
declares that
in ancient
times by the
common Law
of England, the
Coroner, the
high Sheriff,
Justices of

11. Whereas it hath been the ancient Liberty of this Nation, That all the Free-born people have freely elected their Representatives in Parliament, and their Sheriffs, and (2) Justices of the Peace, &c and that they were abridged of that their native Liberty, by a Statute of 8th of H. 6, 7. and the 27 H. 8th. 24. That therefore, that Birth-right of all Englishmen, be forthwith restored to all which are not, or shall not be Legally disfranchised for some criminall cause, or are not under twenty one years of age, or servants, or beggars ; and we humbly offer, That every County may have its equall Proportion of Representatives ; and that every County may have its severall Divisions, in which one Representative may be chosen : and that some Representatives of every Parish proportionably may be the Electors of the Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Committee men, Grand-jury men, and all Ministers of Justice whatsoever in the respective Counties ; and that no such Minister of Justice may continue in his Office above one whole year without a new (aa) Election.

peace, Verderors of Forests ; yea, and in times of Warre, the Leaders of the Counties souldiers, were chosen in full Counties by the Freeholders. [a a] *It hath been a Maxime amongst the wise Legislators, that whosoever means to settle good Laws, must proceed in them with a sinister, or evill opinion of all mankind, and suppose that whosoever is not wicked, is in for want of opportunity ; and that no State can be wisely confident of any publick Minister continuing good, longer then the Rod is over him.* It is the opportunity of being ill that must be taken away, if ever we mean to be happy ; which can never be done but by frequency of change : *Speeches and Passages, pag. 17.*

12. That all Statutes for all kind of Oaths, whether in Corporations, Cities or other, which insnare conscientious people, as also all other Statutes injoyning all to hear the Book of common-Prayer, be forthwith repealed and nulled, and that nothing be imposed upon the consciences of any, to compel them to sin against their own consciences.

13. That the too long continued shame of this Nation, viz. permission of any to suffer such poverty as to beg their bread, may be forthwith effectually remedied ; and to that purpose, that the poor be enabled to chuse their Trustees to discover all Stocks, Houses, Lands, &c. which of right belong to them and their use, that they may speedily receive the benefit thereof, and that some good improvement may be made of waste

waste Grounds for their use; and that according to the promise of this Honourable House in your first Remonstrance, care be taken forthwith to advance the native commodities of this Nation, that the Poor may have better wages for their labour, and that Manufactures may be increased, and the *Herring fishing* upon our own Coasts may be improved for the best advantage of our own Mariners, and the whole Nation.

14. Whereas that burthensom Tax of the Excise lies heavie onely upon the poorer, and most ingenuous and industrious People, to their intolerable oppression; and that all persons of large Revenues in Lands, and vaste estates at usury, bear, not the least proportionable weight of that burthen, whereby Trade decayes, and all ingenuity and industry is discouraged; That therefore that oppressive way of raising money may forthwith cease, and all moneys be raised by equall Rates, according to the proportion of mens estates.

15. That Mr *Peter Smart*, Doctor *Leighton*, M. *Ralph Grafton*, M. *Hen. Burton*, Doctor *Bastwick*, M. *William Pryne*, Lieut. Colonel *John Lilburn*, the Heirs and Executors of M. *Brewer*, M. *John Turner*, and all others that suffered any cruelty, or false, illegall imprisonment, by the *Star Chamber*, the high Commission, or *Council-board*, as also M. *Alderman Chambers*, and all others that suffered oppression before the *Parliament*, for refusing to pay illegall imposts, customs or Ship-money, or yeeld conformity to Monopolizing *Patenteers*, may, after seven yeers attendance for justice and right, forthwith by this House receive legall and just Reparations out of the Estates of all those, without exception, who occasioned, acted in, or procured their heavie sufferings, that so in future Ages men may not be totally discouraged to stand for their Liberties and Freedoms, against oppressors and Tyrants.

16. Whereas we can fix our eyes upon no other but this Honourable House for relief in all these our pressing grievances, untill we shall be enforced to despair, we therefore desire that the most exact care be had of the right Constitution thereof: And therefore we desire that all Members of this House chosen in their Nonage, may be forthwith ejected, and that all Votes for suspension of Members from this House, may be forthwith put in execution; Provided, that the House proceed either finally to expel them, that others may be elected in their stead, or they be restored to serve their Country: And likewise that all Lawyers who are Members of this House (by reason of their over-awing power over Judges of their own making) may wholly attend the Peoples service therein; and that every of them may be expelled the House, who shall hereafter plead any cause before any Court or Committee whatsoever during his Membership in this House. And we do further desire, that every Member of this House may be enjoyned under some great penalty, not to be absent above three dayes, without the expresse license of this House; and not above one month, without the license of the place by which they are betrusted: And likewise that no Law may be passed, unlessse two third parts of all the Members of this House be present, and that

that the most speedy care be had to distribute Elections equally throughout the Nation; and that the extent of the Power and Trust of this honorable House be clearly declared, with the true end and intention thereof, viz. To make just Laws, binding all alike for the preservation and equal good of all, but not to execute Laws.

Now whereas the particular requests in our Petitions are for the most part never debated in this House, but when we are at any time rightly interpreted in our meanings and intentions, we onely receive thanks for our good affections or promises, that in due time our desires shall be taken into consideration: and by such delays our distractions are daily increased, and our burdens made more heavie: therefore we desire that a Committee be forthwith appointed by this Honourable House, who may be enjoined under some penalty, to sit from day to day, untill they have debated every particular of our request, and reported their sense of the justnesse and necessitie of them to this House, that we may attend for an Answer accordingly: and that a time be fixed when such a Committee shall make their report. And we further desire the same Committee may be invested with power to hear all our other complaints, and offer suitable remedies to this Honourable House, and to bring in the Appeals of any persons from the Judges at Westminster to this Honourable House, against their injustice, bribery, or illegall delay and oppression.

Now O ye Worthie Trustees! Let not your ears be any longer deaf to our importunate cries: let not our destruction be worse then that of Sodom, which was overthrown in a moment. Let us not pine away with famine, and be worse then those who die by the sword. Ob dissolve not all Government into the prime Laws of Nature, and compel us to take the naturall remedie to preserve our selves, which you have declared no people can be deprived of. (bb) O remember that the righteous God standeth in the Congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among the gods, and saith, How (cc) long will ye judge unjustly, and

bb) See your Declaration of the 19 of May, 1642. 1 book Declarat. pag. 207. And

your Declaration of Novemb. 1642. pag. 690 726. 728. as also pag. 150. See the Armes book of Declarat. p. 39. 40. cc) Psal. 82. 1, 2, 3, 4.

accept the persons of the wicked ? Defend the poor and fatherless, do justice to the afflicted and needy ; deliver the poor and needy, and rid them out of the hands of the wicked.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Now judge O Heavens, and give your verdict O ye sons of men, where the Treason is in this Petition, for which M. *Wildman* and I, as the chief prosecutors thereof deserved seven months imprisonment as Traitors therefore : or rather doth it not declare that *Cromwel* and the rest of his fellow-binderers of the promotion and accomplishment of the just things therein contained (the establishing of which would have, in the eye of reason, prevented all the late Wars, and all the desperate hazards that were run thereby) are as grand enemies to the Liberties and Freedoms of *England*, as any of those ever were whom they have destroyed, and as grand Traitors to their trust as ever pils'd against a wall, meerly, sly and only seeking themselves, and their own tyrannicall domination by all their actions, their pretences being but meer stalking-horses thereto ; as most cleerly appears by *CROMVEL*'s own Majors Impeachment of him to the Parliament, the copy of which thus follows.

**Sundry REASONS inducing Major
ROBERT HUNTINGTON
to lay down his Commission,**

*Humbly presented to the Honourable Houses
of PARLIAMENT, 2 August, 1648.*

HAVING taken up Arms in defence of the Authority and Power of King and Parliament under the command of the Lord *Grey of Warke*, and the Earl of *Manchester*, during their severall employments with the Forces of the Eastern Association ; and at the modelling of this Army under the present Lord General, having been appointed by the honourable Houses of Parliament, Major to the now Regiment of Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, in each of which employments I have served constantly and faithfully, answerable to the trust reposed in me. And having lately quit the said employment, and laid down my Commission, I hold my self tied both in duty and conscience to render the true reason thereof ; which in the

the generall is briefly this; *Because the Principles, Designs, and Actions of those Officers, which have a great influence upon the Army, are (as I conceive) very repugnant and destructive to the honour and safety of Parliament and Kingdom, from whom they derive their Authority.* The particulars whereof being a Breviate of my sad Observations, will appear by the following Narrative.

First, That upon the Orders of Parliament for disbanding this Army, Li. Gen. Cromwel and Commissary General Ireton were sent Commissionersto *Walden*, to reduce the Army to their obedience, but more especially, in Order to the present supply of forces for the service of *Ireland*: But they, contrary to the trust reposed in them, very much hindered that service, not only by discountenancing those that were obedient and willing, but also by giving encouragement to the unwilling and disobedient; declaring, that there had been much cruelty and injustice in the Parliaments proceedings against them (meaning the Army) and Commissary Generall Ireton in further pursuance thereof, **FRAMED THOSE PAPERS AND WRITINGS THEN SENT FROM THE ARMY TO THE PARLIAMENT AND KINGDOM**, saying also to the Agitators, that it was lawfull and fit for us to deny disbanding, till we had received equall and just satisfaction for our past service; Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell further adding. *That we were in a double capacity, as Souldiers, and as Commonsers; and having our pay as Souldiers, we have something else to stand upon as Commonsers.* And when upon the Rendezvouz at **TRIPPLE-HEATH** the Commissioners of Parliament, according to their Orders, acquainted every Regiment with what the Parliament had already done, and would further do in Order to the desires of the Army, *the Souldiery being before prepared, and notwithstanding any thing could be said or offered to them by the Commissioners, they still cryed out for Justice, Justice.*

And for the effecting of their further purposes, advice was given by Lieutenant Generall Cromwel, and Commissary Generall Ireton, to remove the Kings Person from *Holdenby*, or to secure him there by other Guards then those appointed by the Commissioners of Parliament, which was thought most fit to be carryed on by the private Souldiery of the Army, and promoted by the Agitators of each Regiment, whose first businesse was to secure the Garrison of *Oxon*, with the Guns and Ammunition there, from thence to march to *Holdenby* in prosecution of the former advice, which was accordingly acted by Cornet *Joyce*; who when he had done the businesse, sent a Letter to the Generall then at *Kyton*, acquainting his Excellency that the King was on his march towards *Newmarket*: The Generall being troubled thereat, told Commissary Generall Ireton that he did not like it, demanding withall who gave those Orders; He replied, *that he gave Orders only for securing the King there, and not for taking him away from thence*; Lieutenant-Generall Cromwel coming then from *London*, said *that if this had not been done, the King would have been sent away by the Order of the Parliament, or els Colonel Graves by the advice of the Commissioners would have carryed him to London, throwing themselves upon the favour of Parliament for that Service.* The same day

Cornet

Cornet Joyce being told that the General was displeased with him for bringing the King from Holdenby, he answered, that *Lieut. Gen. Cromwel had given him Orders at London [a] to do what he had done, both there and at Oxford.*

[a] And I
John Lilburn
have heard
from very good

hands [I will not now say, from the Cornets own mouth] that it was delivered to him in Cromwells own Garden in Drury-lane, Colonel Charles Fleetwood being by.

The person of the King [b] being now in the power of the Army, the *businessse of Lieutenant-Generall Cromwel was to court his Majesty* (both by Members of the Army, and several Gentlemen formerly in the Kings Service) *into a good opinion and belief of the proceedings of the Army, as also into a disaffection and dislike of the proceedings of Parliament, pretending to shew, that his Majesties Interest would far better suit with the Principles of Independency, then of Presbytery: And when the King did alledge (as many times he did) That the power of Parliament was the Power by which we fought, Lieutenant-Generall CROMWELL would reply, That WE WERE NOT ONLY SOLDIERS, BUT COMMONERS; promising that the Army would be for the King in the Settlement of his whole Businessse, if the King and his party would sit still, and not declare nor act against the Army, but give them leave onely to mannage the present businessse in hand.*

b] And yet see
the Generals.
Letter from
Cambridge of
6 June 1647,
of the Kings
providential or
accidentall
coming to them
without the
privity of him,
or any of his
Officers, Ar-
mies book of De-
clarat. p. 22.

That when the King was at *New-market*, the Parliament thought fit to send to his Majesty, humbly desiring, that in Order to his safety, and their addresses for a speedy settlement, he would be pleased to come to Richmond; contrary hereunto resolution was taken by the aforesaid Officers of the Army, *That if the King could not be diverted by perswasion* (to which his Majesty was very opposite) *that then they would stop him by force at Roylton, where his Majesty was to lodge the first night, keeping accordingly continuall Guards upon him, against any power that should be sent by Order of Parliament to take him from us: And to this purpose our Guards were also kept to preserve his escape from us, with the Commissioners, of whom we had speciall Orders given to be careful; for that they did daily shew a dislike to the present proceedings of the Army against the Parliament, and that the King was most conversant, and private in discourse with them; His Majesty saying, that if any man should hinder his going (now his Houses had desired him upon his late Message of the 12. of May 1647.) it should be done by force, and by laying hold on his Bridle, which if any were so bold so do, he would endeavour to make it his last.* But contrary to his Majesties expectation, the next morning, when the King and the Officers of the Army were putting this to an issue, came the Votes of both Houses to the King, of their compliance with that which the Army formerly desired: After his Majesty did incline to hearken to the desires of the Army, and not before: Whereupon at *Caversham*, the King was continually solicited by Messengers from Lieutenant-General CROMWELL, and Commissary-General IRTON, proffering any thing his Majesty should desire,

as Revenues, Chaplains, Wife, children, servants of his own; visitation of

[c] Sir *Eam. Ford* a professed Papist, and one that had broken prison out of the Tower of London, was at that time *Iretons* constant bed-fellow, at whose lodging constant royall Cabals was held; and yet at the same time *Ireton*, &c. impeached *Hollis* and *Sapleton* for high Treason, for private correspondence with the King. *Armies Book of Declar.* pag.

81, 82, 83.

reasoned against it at the Generall-councell of the Army, as also all this they would doe, that His Majesty might the better see into all our Actions, and know our principles, which lead us to give him all those things out of Conscience; For that we were not a people hating His

Majesties person, or Monarchicall [d] Government;

[d] Yet read *Iretons* &c. Remonstrance from St. Albans, and you shall finde the quite contrary; yea, and that the things here they plead for, they there condemn as the highest Treason; as evidently there appears, pag. 15, 16. 17: 22, 23; 24: 32: 48: 50: 62.

but that we like it as the best, and that by this King; saying also, That they did hold it a very unreasonable thing for the Parliament to abridge him of them, often promising, That if his Majesty will sit still and not act against them, They would in the first place restore him to all these, and upon the settlement of our own just rights and Liberties make him the most glorious Prince in Christendome; That to this purpose for a settlement they were making severall Proposals to be offered to the Commissioners of Parliament then sent down to the Army, which should be as bounds for our party, as to the Kings businesse; and that his Majesty should have liberty to get as much of those abated as he

could, for that many things therein were proposed only to give satisfaction to others which were our friends, promising the King that at the same time the Commissioners of Parliament should see the Proposals, His Majesty should have a copy of them also, pretending to carry a very equall hand between King and Parliament, in order to the settlement of the Kingdom by him, which besides their own Judgment and conscience, they did see a necessity of it, as to the people: *Commissary Generall* Veron further saying, That what was offered in these Proposals, should be so just and reasonable, That if there were but six men in the Kingdom that would fight to make them good, he would make the seventh, against any power that should oppose them.

The Head-Quarters being removed from Reading to Bedford, His Majesty to Woborne, the Proposals were given to me by *Commissary Generall Ireton*, to present to the King; which his Majesty having read told me, he would never treat with the Army or Parliament upon those Proposals, as he was then minded: But the next day his Majesty understanding that a force was put upon his Houses of Parliament by a tumult, sent for me again and said unto me, Go along with Sir *Iohn Barkley* to the Generall and

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Generall, and tell them, that to avoid a new war, I will now treat with them up on their Proposals, or on any thing els in Order to a Peace, only let me be saved in honour and conscience : Sir Iohn Barkley falling sick by the way, I delivered this Message to Lieutenant Generall CROMWELL and Commissary Generall Ireton, who advised me not to acquaint the Generall with it, till ten or twelve Officers of the Army were met together at the Generalls Quarters, and then they would bethink themselves of some persons to be sent to the King about it ; And accordingly Commissary Generall Ireton, Colonel (e) Rainsborough, Colonel Hamond, and Col Rich, attended the King at Woborne for three houres together, debating the whole businesse with the King upon the Proposals ; upon which debate, many of the most materiall things the King disliked were afterwards struck out, and many other things much abated by promises, whereupon his Majesty was pretty well satisfied.

Within a day or two after his Majesty removed to Stoke, and there calling for me, told me he feared an Engagement between the City and the Army ; saying, he had not time to write any thing under his hand, but would send it to the Generall after me, commanding me to tell Commissary Generall Ireton, with whom he had formerly treated upon the Proposals, that he would wholly throw himself upon us, and trust us for a settlement of the Kingdome as he had promised ; saying, if we proved honest men, we should (without question) make the Kingdom happy ; and save much shedding of blood. This Message from His Majesty, I delivered to Commissary Generall Ireton at Colebrook, who seemed to receive it with joy, saying, *That we should be the veriest Knaves that ever lived, if in every thing we made not good what ever we had promised*, because the King by his not declaring against us, had given us great advantage against our Adversaries.

After our marching throug London with the Army, his Majesty being at Hampton Court, Lieutenant Generall Cromwel, and Commissary Generall Ireton, sent the King word severall times, that the reason why they made no more hast in businesse, was because that party which did then sit in the House while Pelham was Speaker, did much obstruct the businesse, so that they could not carry it on at present. The Lieutenant Generall often saying, *Really they should be pulled out by the ears*, and to that purpose caused a Regiment of Horse to Rendezvouz at Hyde-Parke to have put that in execution as he himself expressed, *had it not been carryed by Vote in the House that day as he desired* : The day before, the Parliament Voted once more the sending of the Propositions of both Kingdoms to the King by the Commissioners of each Kingdom at Hampton Court. Commissary Generall Ireton bade me tell the King, *that such a thing was to be done to morrow in the House*, but his Majesty need not to be troubled at it, for they intended it to no other end but to make good some promises of the Parliament, which the Nation of Scotland expected performance of : and that it was not expected or desired his Majesty should either Sign them or Treat upon them, for which there should be no advantage taken against the King. Upon the delivery of which Message, His Majesty replyed he knew

H

not

(e) Who, I am sure daubed & jugled not as the others did, but spoke his mind freely, for in the tower he gave me I. Lilburu a full account of that businesse, yea and sufficiently then told Sir I. Maynard, Commissary Copley &c. of Iretons, &c. Bise jugling and underhand dealing, daubing, and dissembling with the King.

not what Answer to give to please all without a Treaty. Next day after this Vote passed, the Lieutenant Generall asked me thereupon, If the King did not wonder at these Votes; I told him no: For that Commissary Generall Ireton, had sent such a Message by me the day before the Vote passed, to signifie the reason of it: The Lieutenant Generall replied, that really it was the truth, and that we (speaking of the Parliament) intended nothing else by it, but to satisfie the Scots, which otherwise might be troublesome. And the Lieutenant Generall, and Com. Gen. Ireton enquiring after His Majesties Answer to the Propositions, and what it would be, *it was shewed them both privately in a Garden-house in Putney, and in some part amended to their own mind.*

Nota bene.

But before this, the King doubting what answer to give, sent me to Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, as unsatisfied with the Proceedings of the Army, fearing they intended not to make good what they had promised: and the rather because his Majesty understood that Lieutenant General Cromwell, and Commissary Generall Ireton, agreed with the rest of the House in some late Votes that opposed the Proposals of the Army, *that they severally replied, that they would not have his Majesty mistrust them, for that since the House would goe so high, they only concurred with them, that their unreasonableness might the better appear to the Kingdom; And the Lieutenant Generall bade me further assure the King, that if the Army remained an Army, his Majesty should trust the Proposals with what was promised to be the worst of his conditions which should be made for him; and then striking his hand on his breast (in his Chamber at Putney,) bade me tell the King he might rest confident and assured of it; and many times the same Message hath been sent to the King from them both, but with this addition from Commissary Generall Ireton, that they would purge and purge, and never leave purging the Houses, till they had made them of such a temper as should do his Majesties business.* And rather then they would fall short of what was promised, he would joyn with French, Spaniard, Cavalier or any that would force them to it. Upon the delivery of which Message the King made Answer, that if they doe, they would doe more then he durst doe. After this the delay of the settlement of the Kingdom was excused upon the Commotions of Colonel Martin, and Colonel Rainborough with their adherents; the Lieutenant General saying, That speedy course must be taken for putting them out of the House and Army, because they were now putting the Army into a Mutiny, by having hand in publishing several Printed Papers, calling themselves the Agents of five Regiments, and the Agreement of the People, although some men had encouragement from Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, for the prosecution of those (f) Papers; and he being further prest to shew himself in it, he desired to be excused at the present, for that he might shew himself hereafter for their better advantage, though in the Company of those men which were of different judgments he would often say, *that these People were a giddy-headed Party, and that there was no trust nor truth in them; and to that purpose wrote a Letter to Colonel Whaley that day the King went from Hampton Court, intimating doubtfully that His MAJESTIES PERSON was in danger by them, and*

(f) See Putney's projects and the 2 parts of Englands new Chains discovered, pag. 6.

that he should keep an Out-guard to prevent them; which Letter was presently shewed to the King by Col. * *Whaley*.

* The designe of which letter was twofold :

1. Under pretence of reall good to the King, whom they now desired to be rid of, as having made all the use of him they could (being the Scots had bid more for him then they would give) to get him into a new snare : which in my judgment they plainly confesse in their late Remonstrance of 16 Nov. 1649. pag. 53. The second was, To destroy the new-nick-named Levellers for a generation of bloody men, that sought to murder the King, who stood also in the way of their intended tyrannicall Reign; which was a main invention of Cromwells own brain, with the base assistance of my Brother Henry Lilburn, as I long since truly declared in two of my Books, viz. The Peoples Prerogative, pag. 52. And A Plea for an Habeas Corpus, pag. 12. See also The second part of Englands Chains, pag. 6.

That about six dayes after, when it was fully known by the Parliament and Army, that the King was in the Isle of *Wight*. Commissary General *Ireton* standing by the fire-side in his Quarters at *Kingsston*, and some speaking of an agreement likely to be made between the King and Parliament, now the Person of the King was out of the power of the Army : Commissary Gen. *Ireton* replied with a discontented countenance, that he hoped it would be such a Peace, as we might with a good conscience fight against them both. Thus they who at the first taking the King from *Holdenby* into the power of the Army, cryed down Presbyterian Government, the proceedings of this present Parliament, and their perpetuity, and in stead thereof held forth an earnest inclination to a moderate Episcopacy, with a new election of Members to sit in Parliament for the speedy settlement of the Kingdom; and afterwards when the Eleven Members had left the House, and marched thorow *London* with the Army, the seven Lords impeached, the four Aldermen of *London* committed to the Tower, and other Citizens committed also; then again they cryed up Presbyterian Government, the perpetuity * of this present Parliament.

Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwel* further pleasing himself with the great Summs of money which were in arrear from each County to the Army; and the Tax of sixty thousand pound per Month for our maintenance; Now, saith he, we may be, for ought I know, an Army so long as we live; and since the sending forth the Orders of Parliament for the calling their Members together, Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwel* perceiving the Houses will not answer his expectation, he is now again uttering words, persuading

* See their notable reasons and height of expressed zeal for frequent and successive Parliaments, in their book of Decl. pag. 41. 42. 43. 44. 129. 142. and in the first of their Proposals dated August 1. 1647. they fix upon the certain period of a yeer for ending this Parliament : yea, and in their last Declaration from *St. Albons*, in pag. 45. 46. complain most bitterly against a perpetuall Parliament, and the ill constitution of this by Burrough-towns, &c. yea also in pag. 65 *ibidem* propose and earnestly presse again for fixing a certain period to the dissolution of this; and also in pag. 15. 52. 66. 67. propose many excellent things for the future constitution of sure and often successive Parliaments : See my inferences upon all their &c. premisses upon this subject in my last book of the 8 of June 1649 from p. 43. 30 p. 39. Yea, and in their first article accuse the King of treason & tyranny in not keeping of frequent & successive Parliaments. See also his case stated, p. 7. 11. 14. 17. 18. 20. See *Bradshaws* Speech against him at his trial, Jan. 27 1648. p. 11.

the hearers to a prejudice against the proceedings of Parliament, again crying down Presbyterian Government, setting up a single Interest, which he calls an honest Interest, and that we have done ill in forsaking it: to this purpose it was lately thought fit to put the Army upon the choosing new Agitators, and to draw forth of the House of Parliament 60 or 70 of the Members thereof, much agreeing with his words he spake formerly in his Chamber at Kingston, saying, *What sway STAPLETON and HOLLISS had heretofore in the Kingdom!* and he knew nothing to the contrary, but that he was as well able to govern the Kingdom as either of them; so that in all his discourse nothing more appeareth but his seeking after the Government of King, Parliament, City, and Kingdom; for the effecting whereof, he thought it necessary, and delivereth it as his judgment, that a considerable Party of the chief Citizens of London, and some of every County, be clapt up in Castles and Garrisons, for the more quiet and submissive carriage of every place to which they belong. Further saying, that from the rising of the late Tumult in London, there should be an occasion taken to hang the Recorder and Aldermen of London then in the Tower; that the City might see, the more they did stir in opposition, the more they should suffer: adding, *That the City must first be made an example.* And since that Lieutenant Gen. Cromwell was sent down from the Parliament for the reducing of the Army to their obedience, he hath most frequently in publick and private, delivered these ensuing heads as his Principles, from whence all the foregoing particulars have ensued, being fully confirmed, as I humbly conceive, by his practice in the transaction of his last yeers business.

* Nay, I John Lilburn am confident, from the whole series of his actions, to prove, that he holds it lawful for a man to commit any manner of wickedness and baseness whatsoever that can be named under the sun for the accomplishment of a mans proposed end, whether in it self it be wicked or righteous; yea to cheat, break faith with, and murder the highest Relations a man can converse with; yea, and for that end onely, to raise Wars upon Wars, to the devastation of Kingdoms and Nations; the peoples lives really and truly being of no more value with him, then so many dead dogs, serving him for no other end, but to be his footsteps to climb up to the top of his Authority, or Elective Knighthood.

1. That every single man is Judge of just and right, as to the good and ill of a Kingdome.

2. That the Interest of honest men is the Interest of the Kingdom. And those onely are deemed honest men by him, that are conformable to his judgment and practice: Which may appear in many particulars. To instance but one, in the choice of Colonel Rainsborow to be Vice-Admiral; Lieutenant General CROMVELL being asked how he could trust a man whose Interest was so directly opposite to what he had professed, and to one whom he had lately aimed to remove from all places of Trust: He answered, *That he had now received particular assurance from Col. RAYNSBOROVV, as great as could be given by man, that he would be conformable to the judgment and discretion of Himself and Commissary Gen. IRETON, for the managing of the whole business at Sea.*

3. That it is lawfull to passe through any forms of Government, for the accomplishing of his end; and therefore either to purge the Houses, and support the remaining Party by force everlastingly: Or to put a period to them by force, is very lawfull, and suitable to the Interest of honest men.

4. THAT IT IS LAWFUL TO PLAY THE KNAVE WITH A * KNAVE.

These

These Gentlemen aforesaid in the Army thus principled, and as by many other circumstances may appear, acting accordingly, give too much cause to believe, that the success which may be obtained by the Army (except timely prevented by the wisdom of the Parliament) *will be made use of to the destroying of all that Power for which we first engaged, and having for above these twelve months past) sadly and with much reluctancy observed these severall passages,* yet we have some hopes that at length there might be a returning to the obedience of the Parliament; and contrary hereunto, knowing that Resolutions were taken up, that in case the Power of Parliament cannot be gained to countenance their Designs, then to proceed without it; I therefore chose to quit my self of my Command, wherein I have served the Parliament for these five yeers last past, and put my self upon the greatest hazards by discovering these Truths; rather then by hopes of gain with troubled minde, continue an assistant or abettors of such as give affronts to the Parliament and Kingdom by abusing of their Power and Authority, to carry on their particular Designs. Against whom (in the midst of danger) I shall ever avow the truth of this Narrative: and my self to be a constant, faithfull and obedient Servant to the Parliament of England.

Robert Huntington.

August 2.
1648.

Courteous Reader,

Before these REASONS of *Major Huntington's*, just after the end of the foregoing Petition, in pag. 53. should have followed the Copy of another, very pertinent to the Illustration of *Cromwel's* and his creatures malice at the Liberties of *England*: But in regard it was forgot, take it here; and it thus followeth.

To

To the Honorable the chosen and betruſted
Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes aſſembled in
P A R L I A M E N T :

*The humble Petition of divers wel-affected Free-born people
of England, inhabiting in and about Eaſt-Smithfield and
Wapping, and other parts adjacent :*

S H E W E T H,

THat as this honourable Houſe was choſen by the people to redreſſe their grievances ; ſo we conceive it our native right to meet together to frame and promote Petitions, for your better information of all ſuch things as are by experience found burthenſome and grievous to the Common-wealth, That accordingly this honorable Houſe hath declared, that it ought to receive Petitions, *though againſt things eſtabliſhed by Law* : That in the uſe of this our native acknowledged right we (together with Lieutenant Col. John Lilburn, and Mr John Wildman) were met together in Eaſt-Smithfield upon the 17 of January laſt, and diſcours'd upon theſe enſuing particulars, viz. *Some ſcrupled the very petitioning this Houſe any more, as a thing from whence (notwithſtanding their having hazarded their lives for their Freedoms) they had hitherto received nothing but reproaches and injuries, and were answered (by one of the perſons before-named) to this effect.* That it was their duty alwayes, and their wildome, in this juncture of time, to uſe their utmoſt diligence to procure the ſettlement of the Common-wealth ; and that warr, famine, and confuſion could no other way in probability be prevented. And it was generally concluded, that the moſt viſible intereſt of the people was, to uphold the Honor of this Houſe, and to preſerve it from contempt.

2. There was likewiſe an occaſionall Diſcourſe about the Right of the Lords to the Law-giving power ; And herein was debated the danger of ſuch an Arbitrary authority (as that is in its own nature) reſiding in any perſons during life, and much more of its deſcending as an inheritance from Generation to Generation, and ſomething was added from our ſad experience of the miſchiefs which have enſued hereupon : In particular, it was declared, how *their exerciſe of that claim might be charged in reaſon with all the precious blood that hath been ſpilt in the late War, becauſe the King had never had opportunity to Levie an Army againſt the people and Parliament, if the Lords had not deſerred ſo long after many ſolicitations by the Commons to poſſeſſe the Ordinance for ſetting the Militia.*

3. It was alſo accidentally wondred at, why LIEUTENANT GENERAL CROMWELL, and COMMISSARY GENERAL IRETON, ſhould now of late urge, That no more addreſſes ſhould be made to the King, whereas they have formerly pleaded,

that he might be brought in even with his Negative voice. Whereupon Lieutenant Colonell Lilburn related a story, That a member of the House of Commons (having information from a credible person, That the King had promised Lieutenant Gen. Cromwell, a blue Ribbond with a George, and the Earldome of Essex, besides other places of honour and profit to his Son, Commissary Gen. Ireton resolved) to become another Felton, rather then to suffer his Countrey to be so betrayed: But the Gentleman being dissuaded by Friends, and intelligence hereof being sent to the Lieutenant Generall, a Fast ensued at the Head quarters, and so he concurred with the House in the late Vote against the King. Neverthelesse, in Mr. Wildmans opinion, he was necessitated into such a Turn, because THE SCOTS having bid HIGHER for the King then he had done, his offer was rejected, and they relied on.

4. Some consideration was had about proportionable assistances towards the charge of printing our Petitions.

5. It being among other things enquired, whether there were any truth in this rumour, That the Lords had sent to Lieutenant Colonell Lilburne, and offered him 3000 l. to desist in the large Petition now abroad. The Lieutenant Col. answered, That it was a false groundlesse report, and that he knew no occasion for it, unlesse it were because a Lord had sent to him, to tell him, he would send him a token of his love, if he thought it would be accepted. To which he answered, That he would not be engaged to any Patentee Lord, and some other words to that effect.

6. There was a relation made by a person, that some poor people in THE COUNTRY did meet together in Companies, and did violently take away the Corn as it was going to market, saying that it was their great necessity caused them so to do: whereupon, we fearing lest the calamity might be more generall, did ask how we should best preserve our selves in case of such Tumults, because we bore the names of Round heads, INDEPENDENTS, &c. for adhering to the Parliament? and we satisfied by Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn to this purpose. Friends, The only way for you to be secured is to promote this Petition to the House, that so when the people come to be enformed (by the Petition) of your reall intentions to the common good of the whole Nation, as well as to your own, you will be thereby safer then those which have bl. w. Ribbons in their hats, that being the Generalls Colours, and the moderne badge of Protection.

7. It was lastly delivered as from a good hand, That some LORDS were willing their Law giving power should not descend as an Inheritance to their Posterity, and that they were willing to part with their Priviledge of freedom from arrests.

This being the summe and principall matter of what passed at the aforesaid meeting, as we are ready to attest upon our oaths, if we shall be thereunto called; And understanding that our said dear Friends, Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn, and Master John Wildman (who are therefore deare to us because they have manifested themselves faithfull to the Publique) stand committed by this House, in relation to the said Meeting as Treasonable

sonable and seditious practisers against the State. We cannot but be extremely troubled, not only in regard of their particular sufferings and our own equall concernment, especially upon the consequence thereof, as tending in a great measure to the disfranchisement of the Nation, from whom the Liberty of complaining must then be taken away, when most cause is given them to complain.

Wherefore your Petitioners do most humbly pray, That Lieutenant Colonel *Lilburn*, and Master *John Wildman*, may be forthwith enlarged, our selves secured, and with the rest of our Countrymen encouraged in a peaceable manner, to make their addresses to this Honorable House, and to render fruitlesse the practises of all such as under any coate shall seek to sow discord between you and yours.

And your Petitioners shall pray, &c.

James Worts
Roger Sawyer.
Henry Giding.
Tho. Chapman.
Valent. Elsign.

Dennis Liddall
George Brown.
Edward Pardo.
Tho. Godlad.
Tho. Culler.

Tho. Williams
John Merihuff.
Mich. Reeve.
John Norib.
John Vells.

Ed. Floyd.
Rob. Baggeffe.
John Sowden.
Rob. Levine.
Andrew Dedman.

This Petition thus subscribed was (as I remember) delivered to the House of Comons the very same week Master *Wildman* and my self was first imprisoned as Traytors in reference to the foresaid Petition; but this Petition was to no purpose nor took no effect; which rightly weighed, is a clear demonstration we were not imprisoned for miscarriage in managing the Petition, but meerly and barely out of malice and hatred at us for promoting zealously a Petition that tended effectually to the ease of the People of their grievances, and make us really Free-men; and therefore from hence &c. And let all unbiassed people judge whether *Cromwel* and his Associates, or my selfe and those he hath nicknamed *Levellers*, be the real Traytors, disturbers of the peace, and the malicious and wicked hinderers of the Seclers of their Freedoms; but to fill up this sheet and so to conclude, I shall because I often use it, here insert the Charge against the King, which thus followeth,

THE

The CHARGE of the Commons of England, against
CHARLES STUART King of England,
Of high Treason, and other high Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Justice,
 Saturday the 20 of January, 1648.

The Court being sate, and the prisoner at the Barr, *M. Cook* Solicitor General, spake thus:
 My Lord, In behalf of the Commons of England, and of all the people thereof, I do
 accuse *Charles Stuart*, here present, of High Treason, and high Misdemeanors: And I do,
 in the name of the Commons of England, desire the Charge may be read unto
 Him. Which the Clerk then read, as followeth,

THAT the said *CHARLES STUART* being * admitted King of * Then his induction is
 England, and therein trusted with a limited Power to go- better then theirs, that
 vern by, and according to the Laws of the † Land, and not other- come in by absolute cen-
 wise; And by his Trust, Oath, and Office, being obliged to use the quest, and now govern us
 power committed to him for the good and benefit of the by the sword, as slaves.
 People, and for the preservation of their Rights and Liber- † But *H. Peters* saith
 ties: Yet nevertheless, out of a wicked Design, to erect, and up- there is now no Law, but
 hold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power, to rule ac- the sword and the wil and
 cording to his || will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the pleasure of those that now
 People; Tea, to take away, and make void the foundations thereof, rule by it. See his dis-
 and of all redress and remedy of mis government, which by the funda- course with mee, 25.
 mental Constitutions of this Kingdom were reserved on the peoples be- May, 1649. p.4.5.
 half, in the right and power of frequent and successive || Cromwells, and the rest
 Parliaments, or National meetings in Conncel: He of the great Sword-
 the said *Charles Stuart*, for accomplishing such his Designs, and mens constant practice.
 for the protecting of himself and his adherents, in His and Their wic- * And so, hath *Crom-*
 ked practices to the same Ends, wel and Ireton, &c. which I will prove upon my life; and
 hath trayterously and maliciously therefore as traitors, sought to dy much more then the King, who
 levied War against the present therefore as traitors, sought to dy much more then the King, who
 Parliament and the People till now hath by Parliaments, &c. themselves been often de-
 therein * Represented. clared not to be subject to the penall part of the Law.

Particularly, upon or about the 13 day of June, in the yeer of our Lord, 1642, at *Brerly* in the County of *York*; And upon, or about the 30 day of July, in the yeer above said, in
 the County of the City of *York*: And upon or about the 24 day of Aug. in the same yeer,
 at the County of the Town of *Nottingham* (when, and where he set up his Standard of war;) And also on, or about the 23 day of October, in the same yeer, at *Edg-Hill*, and *Keinton-*
field, in the County of *Warwick*: And upon, or about the 13 day of Novemb. in the same
 yeer, at *Bransford*, in the County of *Middlesex*: And upon, or about the 30 day of
 Aug. in the yeer of our Lord 1643, at *Cavesham Bridge* neer *Reading*, in the County of
Berks: And upon, or about the 13 day of October, in the yeer last mentioned, at, or neer
 the City of *Glocester*: And upon, or about the 13 day of Novemb. in the yeer last mention-
 ed, at *Newbery* in the County of *Berks*; And upon, or about the 31 day of July, in the
 yeer of our Lord 1644, at *Cropredy Bridge* in the County of *Oxon*: And upon, or about
 the 30 of September, in the yeer last mentioned, at *Bodmin*, and other places neer adjacent,
 in the County of *Cornwal*: And upon, or about the 30 day of Novemb. in the yeer last
 mentioned, at *Newbery* aforesaid: And upon, or about the 8 day of June, in the yeer of
 our Lord, 1645, at the Town of *Leicester*: And also, upon the 14. day of the same
 month in the same yeer, at *Naseby-field*, in the County of *Northampton*. At which
 several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this Land, at
 several other times within the yeers aforementioned; and in the yeer of our Lord, 1646.
 He the said *Charles Stuart*, hath caused and procured many thousands of the free people of the

Nation to be slain ; and by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections, within this Land, by invasions from forraign parts, endeavoured and procured by Him, and by many other evil wayes and meanes, He the said CHARLES STUART, hath not only maintained and carryed on the said War, both by Land and Sea, during the yeeres before mentioned ; but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the said War against the Parliament, and good People of this

(*) Of which years war Cromwel & Ireton by their cheating, juggling & hindring the setting the liberties of the Nation, are & were more guilty of by thousands of degrees then the King or any of his party, and if they had been but honest to their primitive engagements, the wars had never been, upon whose heads alone principally all the blood shed in those wars lyes, say I, Iohn Lilburn.

the continuing and renewing of war and hostility, against the said Parliament and People, as aforesaid. By which Cruel and Unnaturall

(*) But I am sure the chief prosecutors of this charge have made us now perfect slaves, and are most superlatively guilty of all that in the next words followeth.

to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation.

And for further prosecution of His said Evill designs, He, the said Charles Stuart, doth still continue His Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revoltiers, both English and Forrainers ; and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Revoltiers, associated with him ; from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement, and on the behalf of the said Charles Stuart.

All which wicked designs, Wars, and evill practises of him the said Charles Stuart, have been, and are carryed on, * for the advancing and upholding of the personall interest of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to Himself and His Family, against the Publick Interest, Common Right, Liberty, Justice, and Peace of the People of this Nation, by, and for whom he was entrusted, as aforesaid.

By all which it appeareth, that He, the said Charles Stuart hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Contriver of the said Unnaturall, Cruel and Bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoiles, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted or committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby.

(*) Which as they carry their businessse, they judge to be no more but Cromwel, Ireton, Bradshaw & Haslerig, all the rest being really their slaves in several degrees

he so exhibited) doth, for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the said People of England, Impeach the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a publick, & Implacable Enemy to the Common wealth of England : And pray, That the said CHARLES STUART, King of England, may be put to answer all and every the Premises, That such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, and Judgment may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.

Nation in this present * year 1648. in the Counties of Kent, Essex, Surrey, Suffex, Middlesex, and many other Counties and places in England and Wales, and also by Sea ; And particularly, He the said Charles Stuart, hath for that purpose, Given Commissions to his son the Prince and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other persons, many such as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed for the safety of the Nation ; being by him or His Agents, corrupted, to the betraying of their Trust, & revoluing from the Parliament, have had intertainment and Commission, for wars by him the said Charles Stuart, levyed continued, and renewed, as aforesaid, much, Innocent blood of the (*) Free People of this Nation hath been spilt ; many Families have been undone, the Publick Treasury wasted & exhausted, Trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast expence and damage

And the said Iohn Cook by Protestation (saving on the behalf of the * People of England, the liberty of Exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other Charge against the said CHARLES STUART ; and also of replying to the Answers which the said CHARLES STUART shall make to the Premises, or any of them, or any other Charge, that shall